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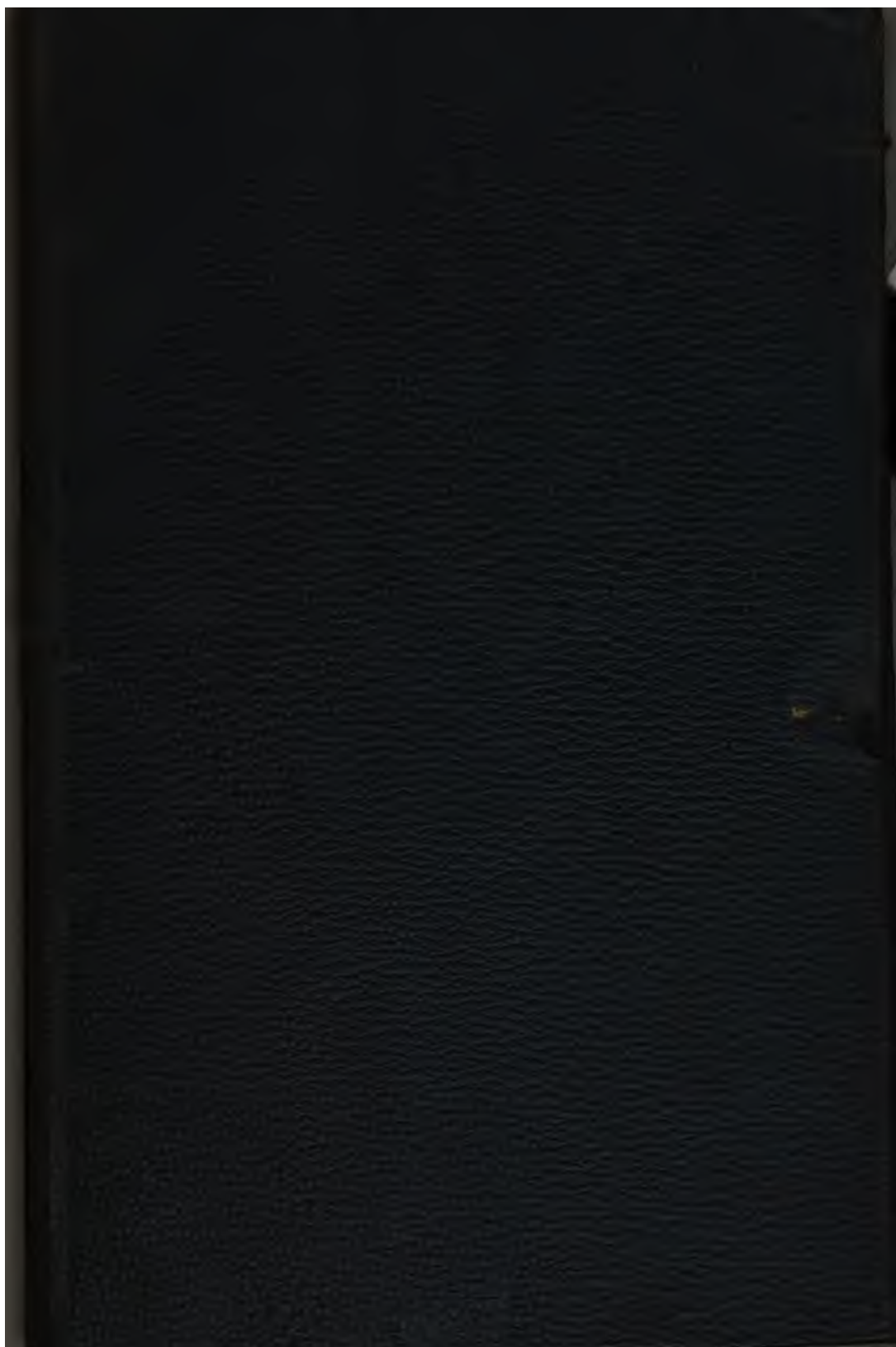
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1879

COMMENTARY

ON THE

EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY MOSES STUART,
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF SACRED LITERATURE IN THE THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY AT ANDOVER, UNITED STATES.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE

TO THE ENGLISH EDITION.

THE reasons assigned by the learned and judicious author of the following work for its appearance in America, will be regarded as equally valid for its republication in England. Employing one common language, and professing, for the most part, the same fundamental views of their common Christianity, the interest felt by theological readers in such works of real value as issue from the press in both countries, cannot fail to be as reciprocal as the perusal of these works must prove mutually advantageous.

Till very recently the American divines were, like ourselves, confined to the use of those critical aids for the study of the Sacred Scriptures, of which we have long been in possession; but, experiencing the numerous and grievous deficiencies of the more purely philological department of English theology, they have at length struck out a new path for themselves, and, notwithstanding the

disadvantages arising from their distance from the old world, the limited extent of their public libraries, and the newness of their more important academical institutions, they are prosecuting their labours with a degree of intelligence and industry, which promises the most important results to Biblical science.

Mr. Stuart is known as the author of an elaborate and excellent Hebrew Grammar, and, in conjunction with his colleague, Mr. Robinson, of a translation of Winer's Greek Grammar of the New Testament, with important additions and corrections. In consideration of the necessity of furnishing theological students with accurate ideas respecting the principles of Biblical interpretation, he has also been induced to publish a translation of Ernesti's *Institutio Interpretis*, which he has interspersed with a number of sound and judicious critical comments.¹ Nor is Mr. Stuart destitute of celebrity as a controversial divine. In a series of "Letters on the Trinity, and on the Divinity of Christ," republished at Belfast, in Ireland, he evinces a judgment and ability worthy of the task he has undertaken.

It was impossible for any person who had perused the former works of our author not to hail with high anticipations the present production as a most valuable accession to Biblical literature. Intimately acquainted with the

¹ This work has been republished in this country under the following title: "Elements of Biblical Criticism and Interpretation, &c. London, B. J. Holdsworth, 18, St. Paul's Church Yard, 1827." 12mo.

minutiæ of Hebrew grammar; familiar with the diversified style of the sacred writers; trained by long study of the laws of Biblical exegesis to a refined and matured tact in seizing the point, the bearing, the various shades and ramifications of meaning couched under the sacred phraseology; imbued with a sincere love of divine truth, and a profound reverence for its dictates; and, withal, endowed with a manly and richly cultivated intellect, he possesses qualifications peculiarly fitting him for the performance of a work replete with so many difficulties as that of a Translation and Critical Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews.

The ordeal to which this important portion of Scripture has been subjected by the wild and extravagant hypotheses of some of the master-spirits of German theology, rendered it a matter of imperious necessity, that some champion, completely accoutred and disciplined to the battle, should step forward, and take up the gauntlet which they have so fearlessly and vauntingly thrown down. If we mistake not, such a champion has here entered the field and won the day. Questions respecting style, authorship, and interpretation, which men of such celebrity as Eichhorn, Bertholdt, De Wette, and others, were considered to have completely set at rest, have been submitted to a fresh and rigid investigation; and in most instances triumphantly, in all more or less satisfactorily, the very reverse of their conclusions has been shown to be in accordance with the real facts of the case.

It is to be hoped that the worthy Author will be encouraged, by the reception given to the present work in this country, to prosecute his valuable and important labours in the field of Biblical research. A similar production from his pen on Job, the Psalms, or (with special reference to the Commentary of Gesenius) the prophet Isaiah, would supply a great desideratum in theological literature.

It will be gratifying to English readers to be informed, that in consequence of an arrangement entered into with the publisher, Mr. Stuart has secured to himself a due proportion of the profits of the present edition.

E. HENDERSON.

LONDON,
March 4th, 1828.

P R E F A C E.

THE origin of the following work must be ascribed to the duties, which my present occupation calls upon me to perform. As the time spent in the study of the Scriptures, at this Seminary, has not allowed me to lecture upon all the epistles of Paul, it has been my custom to select those, which appeared to be the most difficult, and in some respects the most instructive and important. These are the epistles to the Romans and the Hebrews. In respect to the latter epistle, many serious exegetical difficulties occur, to remove which, much time and extensive study are necessary. But the greatest difficulty of all arises from the fact, that this epistle is anonymous, and that the Pauline origin of it has been more or less doubted or disputed, ever since the latter part of the second century, if not still earlier. This subject I have deemed to be very interesting and important; and I have endeavoured, while discharging my duty of lecturing upon the epistle, to throw what light I could upon the dark places of its literature.

Experience however has taught me, that lectures could

communicate to students but a very limited and incompetent view of the disputed ground, in regard to the origin of the epistle to the Hebrews. The exceedingly numerous quotations, and appeals to writers ancient and modern, which it was necessary to make, and the almost endless references to the Scriptures, which apposite illustration and argument required, rendered it impossible that a mere lecturer should communicate, or his hearer acquire and retain, any thing like an adequate view of the whole subject .

What was true of the literary introduction to the epistle, was also found to be true in respect to many of the most important exegetical difficulties, connected with the interpretation of it. The young student, by the mere repetition or delivery of any lecture upon them, (however particular or plain it might be in the view of an experienced interpreter,) was not able to acquire such a knowledge as would avail thoroughly to free him from his embarrassments, or to render him capable of explaining such matters to others.

The knowledge of these facts, resulting from repeated experience, first led me to the design of publishing, *in extenso*, on the epistle to the Hebrews. The repeated solicitations which have been made, that I would engage in this undertaking, might perhaps constitute some apology for embarking in it, if such an apology were necessary. But the time has come, when, in our country, no apology is necessary for an effort to promote the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, or to cast any light upon them. There is an appre-

hension, at present, somewhat extensive and continually increasing, that no one age, nor any body of men pertaining to it, have done *all* which the human faculties, with the blessing of God, are capable of accomplishing. Christians, in this country, are coming more and more to believe, that as the church advances nearer to that state, in which "the knowledge of the Lord shall fill the earth as the waters cover the seas," a better understanding of the Scriptures may be confidently hoped for and expected. It cannot be rationally supposed, that this will be communicated by a miraculous interposition. It must result from candid, patient, long-continued, and radical investigation of the language and idiom of the Sacred writers. Interpretations *a priori* have long enough had their sway in the church; and it is very manifest, that a more judicious and truly Protestant mode of thinking and reasoning, in respect to the interpretation of the Scriptures, has commenced, and bids fair to be extensively adopted.

Whether the following sheets will contribute to aid this great object, must be left to the readers of them to decide. I can only say, that I have aimed at the accomplishment of this end, and that, if I have failed in respect to it, one great design of my undertaking and labours is defeated.

Probably some of my readers may think, that the *introductory* dissertations, which constitute the first volume of the present work, are more extended than was necessary, and that they are too minute and circumstantial. My only reply to this is, that an acquaintance with what has of late

years been done, and with what is now doing, to shake the credit of our epistle, and to eject it from the canon of sacred writings to which appeal can be made in proof of Scripture doctrine, would of itself be an ample apology for all the pains I have taken, and all the minuteness of examination into which I have gone. Should it be said, that the German writers, whom I have opposed, are as yet unknown in this country, and that it was inexpedient to make them known; the allegation would only show how little acquainted the person who makes it is, with the actual state of our present knowledge, and with the relations in which we stand to the German authors. Our youth are every day resorting to Germany for education; our colleges are filling up with Professors who have been educated there; the language of Germany is becoming an object of classical study in our public Seminaries of learning; and in a multitude of ways, through the medium of translations as well as by the knowledge of the German language, is the literature of Germany producing an influence upon our own.

In this state of things, the attacks made upon the Pauline origin, or upon the canonical credit, of the epistle to the Hebrews, cannot be kept back from the knowledge of our intelligent and industrious students. It is better, therefore, to meet the whole matter with an open face, fairly to examine it, and either to yield to the force of arguments suggested by the critics of the old world, or to combat them in such a way as effectually to defend the positions

which we take. Christian candour and impartiality demand this. The day of *authority* in the church is passed by; it is to be hoped, that the day of *sound reason* and of *argument* is to follow. It is better to convince men by an appeal to their understandings and their hearts, than it is to terrify them by holding the rod of authority over them, or to deter them from speaking out their convictions by arguments *ad invidiam*. These are the never-failing resource of minds, which are conscious of possessing no better means than such of convincing others, and which naturally resort to those which are most within their reach.

Our religion seeks no concealment; it fears no assaults. If it will not stand the test of sober reason and of argument, it will not long have place in the world, among enlightened men. Those who shrink from such tests, and declaim against the use of our reason, show their want of confidence in the cause which they profess to espouse. If they did but know it, they are already half won over, to the ranks of doubters or of unbelievers.

On the subject of interpretation, one may well say, "Drink deep, or taste not." A half-illuminated interpreter doubts every thing, and sees nothing clearly. Would God, the rising generation of those who are devoted to the study of the divine word, might feel deeply penetrated with the truth of this! It would be an event highly auspicious to the cause of truth in the world.

The second volume of this work will commence with a new translation of the epistle to the Hebrews. In this, it

has been my object to give a more exact view of the features of the original Greek, than is presented by our common English version. Of all the tasks which an interpreter performs, this is the most difficult. To make some kind of translation, is indeed a very easy thing ; to follow on, in the tracks of some other interpreter, is equally easy. But to translate, so as to make an author, who has composed in another language, altogether intelligible, and yet preserve all the shades, and colouring, and nice transitions, and (so far as may be) even the idioms themselves of the Original, is the very highest and most difficult work, which an interpreter is ever called to perform. A translation, faithfully presenting the original, is in itself a commentary. It is the sum of all an interpreter's labours, exhibited in the briefest manner possible. Hence the little success, that has attended most of the versions which have been made of the Scriptures. Their authors have either abridged or paraphrased the original ; more commonly, the latter. Neither is admissible, in a translation truly faithful. Whether I have shunned the one and the other, must be left to the judgment of the reader.

I much prefer the Saxon English, for a version of the Bible. I have accordingly chosen it, whenever I could, and have purposely avoided substituting Latinizing English in its room, unless a regard to the meaning of the original compelled me to do it.

The translation will be followed by a continuous commentary upon the whole epistle. When difficulties de-

manded special and extended investigation, I have thrown the result of such investigation into an *Excursus* at the end. There, subjects of difficulty can be treated, and studied, with more convenience and more fully, than if intermixed with the usual series of exegetical notes.

I have consulted commentaries both ancient and modern, while composing the exegetical part of these volumes. Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Theophylact, are the ancient interpreters, who may be read with much interest, and with some profit. I owe to them not a few hints, which I regard as valuable. From more recent critics I have derived very considerable aid, which I would gratefully acknowledge. After all, I have examined other writers, rather for the sake of correcting or enlarging my own impressions, than for the sake of abridging or condensing their works. My uniform method of study has been, to exhaust the resources of my own mind before I applied to others for help. But I have neither despised nor neglected this help; nor have I, in any case, followed the opinion of any critic, unless I was satisfied with the reasons which he gives for it. Critics of very different sentiments and views, I have consulted. Impartial investigation demanded this; and I should be but ill satisfied, in respect to the discharge of my own duty, if I had not done it.

The interpretations which I have adopted and defended, are the result of long continued and often repeated labour and study. This, however, does not of itself enhance their value to the reader. They must stand by their own internal

value, if they do stand, and not by the length of time during which they have been coming into existence.

I have not made it an object to transcribe other commentators, and continually to refer to them. It is a mode of commentary to which I have a dislike; particularly so, when it is carried to the excess, to which many interpreters have carried it. I have therefore retreated as far from it, as my views of usefulness and propriety would permit me to do. The reader will have, at least, one advantage from this. He will not be compelled merely *agere actum*—to read over what he has read before.

To say, that *critical* commentaries on the Scriptures, of the higher kind, are wanting in the English language, would be only to repeat what every biblical student has long felt and confessed. The time has come, when this evil ought, if possible, to be redressed. Whether the attempt to assist in this great work, which I have made in the following sheets, can be justly regarded as a successful one, is not for the writer to judge.

It will be understood, of course, that the work is designed for students in theology, and for those who engage in a truly critical study of the Scriptures. With commentaries designed for the edification of Christian readers at large, I believe the English world is better supplied, than any other part of Christendom. Henry, Patrick, Guise, Orton, Doddridge, Brown, Clark, Scott, and others, have published works of this nature. It is not my design to occupy the ground, which they have already occupied. The reader

of my work must not expect sermonizing commentary, but an attempt at philological and critical interpretation. *Cuique suum*. I bless God for raising up such commentators as those just mentioned, for Christians at large; but the *professed interpreters* of his word need other aid, and that very different from what their works afford, in order to attain a fundamentally critical knowledge of the original Scriptures.

The responsibility of publishing a work like the present, is very great. It is one from which I should shrink, if, on the whole, I could come to the conclusion, that duty would permit me to decline it. As my conviction now is, I must venture to commit the work to God, and to the Christian public, hoping that it may contribute, in some measure, to advance the knowledge of a very interesting portion of his Holy Word.

M. STUART.

Theological Seminary, Andover,
Sept. 18, 1827.

that the "new" social movements have been able to achieve a new kind of political organization, one that is more effective than the traditional party system. The "new" social movements have been able to achieve a new kind of political organization, one that is more effective than the traditional party system. The "new" social movements have been able to achieve a new kind of political organization, one that is more effective than the traditional party system. The "new" social movements have been able to achieve a new kind of political organization, one that is more effective than the traditional party system.

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THE JOURNAL

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PART I.

were some, who alleged that this epistle did not come from the hand of Paul ; as Pantænus and Clement had, before this, made an effort to remove objections against it.

(3.) The very manner in which Origen attempts to remove objections, shows that he gave full credit to the *apostolic origin* of the epistle. ‘The *thoughts*,’ he avers, ‘are apostolic, and worthy of an apostle ; but the *diction* is derived from another.’ And when he says, “*It is not without reason that the ancients have handed it down as belonging to Paul ;*” and then adds, “but who wrote it, God only knows with certainty, some attributing it to Luke, and some to Clement ;” nothing can be plainer, than that he means here to suggest, that he considers it to be uncertain, who *penned* it, i. e. *reduced it to writing* ; for he had just asserted that the *thoughts* were *suggested* by the *apostle*, while the *diction* arose from him who reduced them to writing. To suppose (as has been supposed) that Origen means to assert, that God only knows from whom the *sentiments* of the epistle sprung, or who the author was, in this sense, is to suppose that Origen has directly contradicted himself, in the very same paragraph. Therefore,

(4.) When Origen says that some attribute it to Luke, and some to Clement ; the probability clearly is, (from the connexion in which this stands,) that he means to say, ‘Some attribute the penning or writing of it down, to the one or the other of these persons.’ If this be so, (and it appears to be very plain that it is,) it only serves to show, that Origen did not consider the tradition about Luke and Clement as well established ; and especially so, as the traditionary reports were not agreed respecting the amanuensis or recorder of the epistle. It is *possible*, I acknowledge, that Origen means to say, that some attributed the real authorship to Luke or Clement ; although I cannot

think that this opinion has any *probable* support, in the passage of Origen now under consideration, if it be explained by any just rules of interpretation.

(5.) It is clear that Origen ascribes his own belief, and the belief of the churches of his time, that the epistle was Paul's, to ancient tradition. "If any church receive this epistle as Paul's, let it be commended for this; for it is not without reason, that the ancients (οἱ ἀρχαῖοι) have handed it down (παρεδεδώκασι) as Paul's." Here two things are asserted; first, that the tradition of its being Paul's is well grounded, in Origen's view, οὐκ εἰκῇ παρεδεδώκασι; and secondly, that it is an *ancient* tradition, for οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες have so thought.

I cannot well account for it, that Eichhorn and Bertholdt have kept out of sight this direct testimony of Origen to the tradition of the churches. Eichhorn has indeed quoted it (§ 271), but made no comment upon it; while Bertholdt has broken the paragraph into two parts, and quoted what precedes the clause in question, in one place (p. 2944), and that which follows it in another (p. 2956); while he has *wholly omitted* the clause under consideration. The opinion of Pantænus and Clement, that Paul wrote this epistle, had previously been ascribed by these critics either to their own conjectures, or to the influence which the views of the church of Alexandria had over them, in respect to this subject. Origen also is represented by them, as struggling between his own convictions and the prejudices of the times, in respect to the point in question, and as falling at last upon the conjecture, that 'the *sentiments* are the apostle's, while the *diction* is another's,' in order to reconcile his own views, and the current prejudices of the Alexandrine church. These critics have been very careful to render *prominent* the expression of Origen, *who wrote it God [only] knows*,

report attributing it to Clement and to Luke; and they have quoted this too, without adverting at all to the evident meaning of it, which is, 'who penned or wrote it down is uncertain, report attributing it to different men'; using the expression just as if Origen had simply said, '*who was the author of the epistle, God only knows.*' See Berth. Einl. § 648. Eichh. § 271. Besides this, Bertholdt represents Origen as asserting, that an *ancient* tradition, brought down even to his time, attributed the *authorship* of the epistle to Luke (p. 2955), or to Clement (p. 2958); but that Origen, believing neither of these ancient traditions, declared that 'God only knows who *composed* it.' One cannot help remarking, how leaning towards a favourite hypothesis will help to obscure one part of testimony, and make another to stand out in relief. That *οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες* have not, as Origen asserts, *without reason declared the epistle to be Paul's*, this critic has passed over with profound silence. On the other hand, "it is an ancient tradition," he says, "propagated down to the time of Origen, that either Clement or Luke *composed* it." But Origen himself does not say this. His words are simply, "Who wrote it [i. e. penned it, down,] God knows, ἡ δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς φθάσασα ἱστορία, *but a report has come to us*, that it was either Clement or Luke." Now where is the *ancient* tradition, brought even down to Origen's time, ascribing the *composition* of the epistle to two different men, neither of whom Origen believed to be the author? So far from this, Origen says not a word here of *ancient* tradition; nor even of tradition at all. He does not say that either ἱστορία παλαιά, or παράδοσις παλαιά, brings down this report; but simply ἡ εἰς ἡμᾶς φθάσασα ἱστορία, i. e. *report has come to us*, or, *it is reported, there is a report, report says*, that either Luke or Clement wrote it. Now he might have used the same expression, I freely concede, if such

report had been ancient; but he might use the same, too, in reference merely to the reports of his day; at which time, no doubt, various difficulties were raised, in some of the churches, respecting the Pauline origin of the epistle. Certainly, then, Bertholdt has no right to represent Origen in the manner he does, as averring that *ancient* tradition assigned the *authorship* of the epistle to Luke or to Clement.

Indeed, the language which Origen employs, in this case, would seem to be *designedly* different from that which he employs in the sentence wholly omitted by Bertholdt, which runs thus; "If any church holds this epistle to be Paul's, it deserves commendation for this; because *ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων* the ancients have handed it down to us, that it is Paul's. Observe the expressions *οἱ ἀρχαῖοι* and *παρὰ δαδῶκασι*, words altogether appropriate to the designation of truly ancient tradition, and not to be mistaken; while the report concerning Luke and Clement is announced simply by *ἡ εἰς ἡμᾶς φθάσασα ἱστορία*, leaving it wholly indeterminate whether this report is recent or ancient; for *φθάσασα* surely does not of course designate the *antiquity* of the report. Why Bertholdt should thus magnify this part of Origen's assertion, and wholly omit all notice of the other which cannot be misunderstood and is not liable to misconstruction, is best known to himself. But thus much may properly be said, If the testimony of the ancients (or moderns) is to be managed in this way, then we may assert, with equal truth, our inability to prove any thing, or our ability to prove *aliquid ex aliquo*.

That Origen was not in the doubtful state about the epistle, which the critics just named represent him to be, may be clearly evinced from other passages in his writings, even if the one already examined were to be regarded as

dubious. For example; Comm. on John (II. p. 18. ed. Huet.), "According to this the *apostle* says,"¹ and then quotes Heb. v. 12. That by this apostle he meant Paul, other passages in the same commentary clearly show. E. g. "In the epistle to the Hebrews, the same Paul says,"² p. 56; again, "Paul in the epistle to the Hebrews,"³ p. 162. In his book against Celsus, he says; "For it is written by Paul, in his letter to the Corinthians . . . and the *same apostle* says,"⁴ and then he quotes Heb. v. 12. Contra Cels. p. 482. ed. Bened. In his treatise on prayer, he quotes the epistle to the Hebrews, as an epistle of the same apostle who wrote the epistle to the Ephesians, De Oratione I. p. 250. ed. Bened. In a homily, preserved in a Latin translation, he says, "Paul himself, the greatest of the apostles, writing to the Hebrews says,"⁵ Then he quotes Heb. xii. 18, 22, 23. He also appeals to this epistle as *authoritative*, in establishing any position; e. g. Comm. in John II. 57, 58. ed. Huet.

These testimonies can leave no doubt what the opinion of Origen was, as to the real *authorship* of the epistle, however he might account for what he deemed the peculiar colouring of the style. It is surely quite a subordinate question, Who was the amanuensis or translator of Paul? The important questions are, Did the *sentiments* originate from him? And is he the real author of them? If Origen has not developed his opinion respecting these questions

¹ Κατὰ τοῦτό φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ὅτι κ. τ. λ. loc. cit.

² Καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἑβραίους, ὁ αὐτὸς Παῦλος φησιν, κ. τ. λ. loc. cit.

³ Ὁ δὲ Παῦλος, ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἑβραίους, κ. τ. λ. loc. cit.

⁴ Γέγραπται γὰρ παρὰ τῷ Παύλῳ ἡμῶν Κορινθίοις ἐπιστέλλοντι . . . ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς . . . φησὶ, καὶ γεγονότες χρεῖαν ἔχοντες, κ. τ. λ. loc. cit.

⁵ Ipse ergo apostolorum maximus . . . Paulus . . . dicit, ad Hebræos scribens, etc. Homil. III. in Num. p. 281. edit. Benedict.

beyond all doubt, I know not that it is in the power of language to do this. If he has not most explicitly averred, that the *then ancient* tradition taught this, and for good reasons, I am unable to conceive how he could have averred it.

(6.) Let us ask, how far back must this testimony have gone, in order to be *ancient* in Origen's time? Nothing can be weaker, than the assertion that Origen refers, in his ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες, to Clement and Pantænus; both of whom were his contemporaries, and lived until he was about thirty years of age. Pantænus died about 211, as Jerome affirms; Clement, about A. D. 217 or 220; and Origen was born A. D. 184 or 185. Now as Origen lived but little more than a century from the apostolic age, nothing can be plainer, than that the οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες must mean, either those who were conversant with the apostles, or at least the generation succeeding them. This not only confirms what I have already endeavoured to prove, from Clement of Rome, from the testimony of the Italic and Syriac versions, and from Pantænus and Clement, viz. that the epistle to the Hebrews was *canonical* in the *primitive* age of the church; but it shows, beyond reasonable doubt, that Pantænus and Clement believed Paul to be the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, in common with the churches of their times, on the ground of ecclesiastical tradition, and not from their own conceit, or their own prejudices in favour of Alexandrine notions.

(7.) It appears that Origen was strongly impressed with the conviction, that the style of the epistle to the Hebrews was different from the usual one of Paul. Yet so firm was his conviction, that the epistle for substance did originate from Paul, that he has not only often ascribed it directly to him, *obiter*, but given us at large his view, viz. that he con-

sidered Paul as the author of the *thoughts* or *ideas*. At the same time, he endeavours to account for it, without prejudice to this opinion or to church tradition, that the costume of the epistle is not Pauline, by supposing a disciple of Paul to have recorded the conceptions of his master in his own language. That Origen should have adhered to what he declares to be the tradition of the *ancients*, respecting the author of this epistle, under such circumstances, and beset with such doubts, exhibits in a most striking manner the strength of his convictions, and the weight of tradition in its favour.

The allegation made by Eichhorn and Bertholdt, that Origen conceded the epistle to the Hebrews to be Paul's, from forbearance to the prejudices of the church at Alexandria, and out of love to the allegory which is in it, the credit of which he would wish to defend, has no real support. In regard to his prejudices in favour of the church at Alexandria, we cannot suppose them to have been very strong; for he was banished from this place, in the midst of his public labours, when he was about 48 years of age, and he spent the last 22 years of his life principally at Cesarea and in its neighbourhood, never returning again to Alexandria. Yet in works published long after he resided at Cesarea, he ascribes to Paul the epistle to the Hebrews. And in regard to the *allegory* of this epistle, if this were the principal reason for receiving it into the canon, then why did he not also receive the epistle of Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, and many other pieces of a similar nature, in which the ancient church abounded? We may well be permitted to ask, indeed, why should we ascribe any other motive to Origen for receiving this epistle, than what he declares to have been a sufficient and commendable

one in the churches, viz. that *the ancients*, NOT WITHOUT REASON, *had handed it down as Paul's?*

The opinion of the church at Alexandria appears to have been uniformly the same, after the age of this great man. I shall very briefly notice it here; as testimony later than Origen's, from this quarter, can amount but to little more than proof, that the opinions of himself and his predecessors continued to be held without variation.

Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, received the epistle to the Hebrews as canonical, and as the work of Paul, about A. D. 247; as did Theognostus, probably a teacher in the famous Christian school at Alexandria, about 282. It was received as Paul's by Alexander, bishop in the same city, about 313; by the celebrated Athanasius, bishop of the same place, about 326; by Didymus, master of the catechetical school there, about 370; and by Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, about 412.

It is unnecessary to proceed any farther on, than down to the time of Jerome and Augustine; whose opinion in favour of this epistle being Paul's, is universally acknowledged; and whose influence over the western churches occasioned the gradual, and finally the universal, reception of it, by all those churches in that quarter where it had been rejected.

§ 15. *Testimony of the Eastern Churches.*

From Egypt let us now repair to the eastern region, and see what the tradition of the churches was in that quarter.

We have already seen that Justin Martyr, a native of

Samaria, quotes from our epistle about 140. After Justin, there were no considerable writers, in this part of the church, whose works are still extant, until the time of Eusebius. Methodius, however, bishop first of Olympus in Lycia, and afterwards of Tyre, seems pretty plainly to ascribe this epistle to Paul, about 292, Lard. vii. 261. It was probably received as such by Pamphilus, presbyter at Cesarea, about 294; as it stands in the midst of Paul's epistles, in a manuscript copied from one of Pamphilus, id. vii. 325.

But the most important testimony from this quarter, (next after that of Origen, who lived at a period so much earlier, and spent here the most important part of his life, viz. the last twenty-two years of it,) remains to be recited. I refer to the testimony of Eusebius of Cesarea, the well-known historian of the church, who has taken so much pains to collect evidence from all quarters, respecting the canon of Scripture. I shall produce his testimony in a collected view, in order to facilitate the comparison of it; and then subjoin a few remarks.

Lib. III. c. iii. "Fourteen epistles are *clearly* and *certainly* Paul's; although it is proper to be known, that some have rejected that which is written to the Hebrews, alleging, with the church at Rome, that it is spoken against, as not belonging to Paul."¹ A little after this, in the same book, c. xxv, he reckons among the books of Scripture, which he calls *ὁμολογούμενοι*, (i. e. *not contradicted or gained*, viz. by such authority as to create any doubts, or to any considerable extent in the church,) the *epistles* of Paul; in which, beyond all question, he includes the epistle

¹ Τοῦ δὲ Παύλου πρόδηλοι καὶ σαφεῖς αἱ δεκατέσσαρες· ὅτι γε μήν τινες ἡθετήκασιν τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους, πρὸς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας, ὥς μὴ Παύλου οὔσαν αὐτὴν ἀντιλέγεσθαι φήσαντες, οὐ δίκαιον ἀγνοεῖν. Hist. Ecc. III. 3.

to the Hebrews; for he afterwards particularizes the epistle of James, of Jude, the 2 Pet. and 2d and 3d John, as those books which are ἀντιλεγόμενοι, i. e. *called in question, contradicted*.¹ In the same book, c. xxxviii, after saying that Clement of Rome had made many extracts from the epistle to the Hebrews, he adds, “Wherefore, not without reason this epistle is reckoned among the writings of Paul. For when Paul had written to the Hebrews, in their vernacular language, some say that Luke made a translation of it, and some, that this Clement did, of whom we have been speaking.”² In Lib. vi. c. xx, he mentions, that “Caius, in a dispute against Proclus, held at Rome in the time of Zephyrinus, blames the temerity and audacity of his opponents in composing new writings, and mentions only thirteen epistles of Paul, not numbering that which is inscribed to the Hebrews. Moreover, even to the present time, this epistle is reckoned by some of the Romans, as not belonging to Paul.”³

In Eusebius, we meet with the first ecclesiastical writer, who has designedly made out a full and regular catalogue

¹ Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην [sc. τὴν τῶν Πράξεων γραφὴν] τὰς Παύλου καταλεκτόν ἐπιστολάς αἱς ἐξῆς κ. τ. λ. . . . ταῦτα μὲν ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις. Τῶν δὲ ἀντιλεγόμενων . . . ἡ λεγομένη Ἰακώβου . . . , καὶ Ἰούδα, ἥτε Πέτρου δευτέρα ἐπιστολή, καὶ ἡ ὀνομαζομένη δευτέρα καὶ τρίτη Ἰωάννου. Hist. Ecc. iii. 25.

² Ἐν ᾗ [sc. ἐπιστολῇ Κλήμεντος] τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους πολλὰ νοήματα παραβεῖς, ἦθε δὲ καὶ αὐτολεξεῖ βητοῖς τισιν ἐξ αὐτῆς χρησάμενος, σαφέστατα περὶσσην ὅτι μὴ νῦν ὑπάρχει τὸ σύγγραμμα. “Ὅθεν εἰκότως ἔδοξεν αὐτὸ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐγκαταλεχθῆναι γράμμασι τοῦ ἀποστόλου. Ἑβραίοις γὰρ διὰ τῆς πατρὶος γλώττης ἐγγράφως ὁμιληκὸς τοῦ Παύλου, οἱ μὲν τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν Λουκᾶν, οἱ δὲ τὸν Κλήμεντα τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἑρμηνεύσαι τὴν γραφὴν. Lib. iii. 38.

³ Ἦλθε δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ Γαῖος λογιωτάτου ἀνδρὸς διάλογος, ἐπὶ Ῥώμης κατὰ Ζεφυρίνου, πρὸς Πρόκλον τῆς κατὰ Φρύγας αἵρέσεως ὑπερμακοῦντα κεκωημένος· ἐν ᾧ τῶν δι’ ἐναντίας τὴν περὶ τὸ συντάττειν καινὰς γραφὰς προπέτειν τε καὶ τόλμαν ἐπιστομίζων, τῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀποστόλου δεκατριῶν μόνων ἐπιστολῶν μνημονεύει, τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους μὴ συναριθμήσας ταῖς λοιπαῖς. Ἐπεὶ καὶ εἰς δεῦρο παρὰ Ῥωμαίων τισιν, οὐ νομίζεται τοῦ ἀποστόλου τυγχάνειν. Lib. vi. 20.

of the canon of the New Testament; and who made extensive investigation, in regard to the opinions of the church respecting this subject. From a view of his testimony, collected and compared together, it is clear:

(1.) That there were, in the East, some who doubted whether Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews; and that they appealed, in support of this opinion, to the church at Rome. It is clear, too, that in the time of Zephyrinus, (about 212), there were persons in the western church, and probably at Rome, who denied that this epistle was written by Paul; for Caius reckons only thirteen epistles of Paul, probably omitting that to the Hebrews. And that this denial continued down to the time of Eusebius, in the church at Rome, (his words are, *παρὰ Ῥωμαίων τισιν, by some of the Romans,*) is clearly signified by this historian.

(2.) His assertion of the Pauline origin of the epistle to the Hebrews, is as unequivocal and strong as language can well make it. "Fourteen epistles of Paul," (of course the epistle to the Hebrews is included, there being but thirteen without it,) "*are CLEARLY and CERTAINLY Paul's, περὶ δηλοὶ καὶ σαφεῖς.*" And again, he reckons this epistle among the books which are *ὁμολογούμενοι*, i. e. *generally recognized, admitted.* These declarations Eusebius makes, with a full view of the objections urged against this epistle by some. It is clear, then, that he did not consider those objections as respectable enough, or sufficiently extensive, or well grounded, to raise any serious doubts in his own mind about this matter, or to weigh at all against the current and general opinion of the church on this subject. Consequently, nothing can be more directly to the purpose, for demonstrating the strength and generality of the opinion in the church, at the time of Eusebius, that Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews, than this testimony. For as Eusebius

has been careful, even when asserting that the epistle is clearly and certainly Paul's, to note that there are some who dissent from this opinion, and also to collect, in various instances, accounts of disagreement in respect to it, it may be regarded as quite certain, that he viewed opposition to it as neither well founded, nor extensive enough to raise any serious doubts, about the correctness of the common opinion of the churches.

(3.) It is pretty evident, that Eusebius had heard of the objections drawn from the style of the epistle, which Clement of Alexandria and Origen had before endeavoured to answer. Eusebius thinks that Paul wrote it in Hebrew, and says that some attributed the translation of it to Luke, and some to Clement. His own opinion is, that the translation is to be ascribed to the latter.

It will be recollected, now, that Origen, residing at the same place (Cesarea), had, nearly a century before, mentioned the very same report or tradition. The passage in Eusebius shows, therefore, the uniformity of the tradition ; it serves also to show, that when Origen adverts to it, he means to say (as I have above supposed him to say), that God only knows who *penned* or *wrote down* the epistle ; not, *who was the author of the sentiments*, for these he directly attributes to Paul ; just as Eusebius attributes the *authorship* to Paul, and the *diction* to Clement.

(4.) One thing more is evident, from the testimony of Eusebius. While he records, with fidelity, the fact that there were some in that quarter of the church who doubted the Pauline origin of this epistle, he tells us, at the same time, that *those who did deny it, alleged the example of the church at Rome, in order to justify themselves in so doing*. The necessary implication of course is, that they could not support themselves by any creditable example in the ori-

ental churches. Would they have made an appeal for support, to a church abroad at so great a distance, if they could have found it at home, and in their own quarter? Most surely not; for at that period, the church of Rome was inferior in credit to a number of other churches in the east. The very nature of this appeal shows, that respectable support for the denial of the Pauline origin of our epistle, could not be found in the east.

Eichhorn has, indeed, cited the above testimony of Eusebius; but he has passed it without comment, excepting the single remark, that 'the reason of Eusebius, for supposing Paul to have written the epistle to the Hebrews, was, that it was very old, and was cited so far back as the time of Clement of Rome;' a reason which, if it were well founded, would of course make Paul the author of all very old ecclesiastical writings, which had been often cited, and were anonymous.

Bertholdt has exhibited more sensibility to the testimony of Eusebius. He confesses that Eusebius founds his judgment respecting the books of the New Testament, on the tradition of the oriental church. The repeated asseverations of Eusebius as to this point, did not permit him to conclude otherwise; although Eichhorn has left out of sight every circumstance of this nature. But then, says Bertholdt, "did this tradition go back to the apostolic age? Undoubtedly not," he answers; "it went back only to Pantænus and Clement of Alexandria, who grounded it only upon supposition, or on their own personal views and feelings." And then he goes on to assert, that 'the epistle to the Hebrews was first favourably received at Alexandria, because it was so congenial to the allegorizing spirit of that place; thence the credit of it diffused itself to Antioch

in Syria; and what Antioch and Alexandria believed concerning it, would in process of time be believed by all the other churches in Egypt, and in the East. Thus it came about, that in Eusebius' time there was such a general consent among the churches of his neighbourhood, in the belief that Paul was the author of the epistle to the Hebrews.'

It is not *necessary* to answer this, except by saying, that from beginning to end, it is a series of *suppositions*, wholly unsupported by a single historical *fact*, and wholly incapable of being supported by any *known facts*. The examination through which we have already passed, has, I trust, afforded sufficient evidence, that the suppositions in question are *contrary to facts*, and destitute therefore of any actual support, as well as of any tolerable degree of probability. What connexion had Antioch with Alexandria? And how should a single Egyptian church and school, planted and instituted late in the apostolic age, if not after it, influence all the churches of the East, planted by Paul and the other apostles, and nurtured by their personal hearers and disciples, so as to make them receive a supposititious book into their canon? And why should not a multitude of other allegorical books, (like the Shepherd of Hermas,) written in or near the apostolic age, have been advanced to a place in the canon by the Alexandrine church, and thence have diffused their credit among all the eastern churches? But it is unnecessary to proceed with such questions. If principles of argument, and methods of weighing testimony respecting ancient writings, may be adopted, like those which Eichhorn and Bertholdt have adopted here, in order to maintain the theory which they had espoused, any ancient writing whatever may be proved to be either

spurious or genuine, as shall best suit the notion of any individual. He has only to make out a series of bold and confident *suppositions*, and his work is done.

I deem it unnecessary to detail the testimony of writers in the oriental churches, subsequent to the time of Eusebius. I shall merely advert to them, because it is not denied by any respectable critics, that, subsequent to this period, the epistle to the Hebrews was generally regarded in the East as Paul's.

Archelaus, bishop of Mesopotamia, received the epistle to the Hebrews as Paul's, about A. D. 300; as did the author of the Synopsis of Scripture ascribed to Athanasius, and written about 320; Adamantius, about 330; Cyril of Jerusalem, about 348; the council of Laodicea, about 363; Epiphanius, about 368; Basil, about 370; Gregory Nazianzen, about 370; Gregory Nyssen, about 371; Ephrem Syrus, about 370; Diodore of Tarsus, about 378; and Chrysostom, about 398. Others might be named, which are mentioned in Lardner's collection of testimonies, but it is superfluous. The object on account of which these have been adduced, is merely to show the unity and universality of the opinion, in the oriental churches, that Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews subsequently to the time of Eusebius, on whose testimony I have already dwelt.

In fact, not a single writer of any respectability in the catholic church, in all the east, has been produced, who rejected this epistle; an extraordinary circumstance, indeed, if the belief of its apostolic origin was not altogether a predominant one in Egypt, and throughout all the eastern world. That there were individuals in this part of the church, who doubted or denied the authenticity of it, will certainly be admitted by every unprejudiced inquirer. But that there was any thing like a respectable or widely

diffused party, who denied it, can be supported by no competent evidence whatever.

§ 16. *Testimony of the Western Churches.*

In the western churches the case was certainly different. We come now to take a view of their opinion.

We have already seen, that Clement of Rome, at the close of the apostolic age, has frequently quoted this epistle, and in the same way and for the same purposes, that he does other parts of the Scripture; and consequently, we cannot entertain reasonable doubts, that he regarded it as a part of the sacred records. Eusebius long ago drew the same conclusion. "Clement," says he, "in his epistle acknowledged by all, which he wrote to the Corinthians in behalf of the church at Rome, exhibits many sentiments that are contained in the epistle to the Hebrews, making use of the very words of the epistle in several sentences, by which he shows most clearly, that this writing is not recent; whence it seems probable, that it is to be reckoned among the other writings of the apostle," Ecc. Hist. III. 38. (See the original Greek, on p. 105, above.) That it had such credit, in this quarter of the church, for some time after this, is sufficiently manifest from the fact, that the *old Latin version* comprises it; which was probably made before A. D. 150, or (as almost all acknowledge) before A. D. 200.

The first *negative* evidence to be found among the western churches, respecting the question before us, is that of Irenæus, bishop of Lyons in France, during the latter part of the second century. Neither the country from which he sprung, nor the time of his birth or death, are

known with any certainty. Eichhorn has placed him at A. D. 150, evidently in order to throw his testimony as far back toward the apostolic age as possible. Lardner places him at A. D. 178, a much more probable era. He was a disciple of Polycarp, when very young; for he states himself, that when a child, he was a hearer of Polycarp, in hither Asia, v. 20.

Photius (fl. A. D. 858) tells us in his *Bibliotheca*, that Stephen Gobar, a writer of the middle ages, says, that Irenæus and Hippolytus declare "the epistle to the Hebrews not to be Paul's," Cod. 152. Eich. p. 519. Whence Gobar drew his conclusion, Photius does not inform us; nor does it any where appear. In all the writings of Irenæus, now extant, no such assertion is contained; but then several of his writings are lost. That Irenæus was acquainted with the epistle to the Hebrews, and that he has cited it, is directly testified by Eusebius, who says, that "he wrote a book of various disputations, in which he mentions the epistle to the Hebrews, and the book called the Wisdom of Solomon, quoting some expressions from them,"¹ v. 26. But Eusebius does not say whether he quotes them as Scripture or not; and as the book of Irenæus, to which he adverts, has perished, we have now no certain means of judging. Storr, Cramer, and some other critics, have called in question this assertion of Gobar, and have supposed that it is only a conclusion which he drew, from the fact that Irenæus had not quoted the epistle to the Hebrews in his works. But this reasoning must, of course, be merely hypothetical. We have the bare assertion of Gobar, without the grounds; and as

¹ Καὶ βιβλίον τι [sc. ἔγραψε Εἰρηναῖος] διαλέξων διαφόρων, ἐν ᾧ τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῆς, καὶ τῆς λεγομένης Σοφίας Σολομώντος, μνημονεύει ῥητὰ τινα ἐξ αὐτῶν παραβλέπων, κ. τ. λ. Hist. Ecc. v. 26.

Irenæus has made no use of the epistle to the Hebrews, in his works still extant, the probability seems to be, that Gobar has given a correct statement. The passages produced by Lardner, as possible quotations, have indeed a close affinity with some passages in the epistle to the Hebrews; but still they may have been taken from the Old Testament, instead of this epistle. (Lard. i. 368—370.) Neither can the fact, that Irenæus has quoted the epistle to the Hebrews, (which is sufficiently vouched for by Eusebius,) determine the question in respect to the nature of his testimony; for surely he may have quoted books, which he did not regard as Scriptural. On the whole, in the present state of evidence, it would seem, that we ought to admit it as probable, that Irenæus did not include the epistle to the Hebrews in his canon; but on what ground, is uncertain. It may, indeed, have been the case, that this epistle, originally addressed to Hebrews in Palestine, had not yet obtained circulation and credit among that part of the church in Asia Minor, where Irenæus lived when he was a youth. It is not improbable, too, that he went in early life, with Polycarp his teacher, to Rome; and that he remained there until he was sent to Lyons in France, where he became the successor of Pothinus, in the bishopric of that city. In this way it may be accounted for, that Irenæus came to cherish doubts respecting the epistle to the Hebrews; which, we shall see, began to be somewhat extensively cherished in the Roman churches, during the latter half of the second century.

At the same time, one cannot but remark, that it appears quite singular, when Eusebius expressly mentions Irenæus as having quoted the epistle to the Hebrews, that he should not, on this occasion or some other, have at all adverted to the fact of his having denied the Pauline origin of this epistle, if such were the fact. This is the more singular,

because Eusebius has devoted a chapter of considerable length, in his work, entirely to giving an account of the manner in which Irenæus had mentioned the sacred books; and in this chapter there is not a word of Irenæus quoted, respecting the epistle to the Hebrews. Ecc. Hist. v. 8.

Moreover, Eusebius has evidently been careful and particular, on all occasions where the epistle to the Hebrews was treated of, to mention objections to it; or where persons of consideration in the church were named who rejected it, to state this fact. Eusebius also must have had the writings of Irenæus, in a more perfect state and much more complete, than Gobar who lived so long afterwards. And as Irenæus was a writer for whom Eusebius evidently cherished a high respect, it is really very difficult to account for it, that he should not have once adverted to the opinion, which Gobar affirms was held by Irenæus.

Difficult, however, as this would seem to be, the supposition that Irenæus did *not* acknowledge our epistle, is somewhat strengthened by the united asseveration of Gobar and Photius himself, (Eichhorn p. 519,) that Hippolytus, (whom Photius calls a disciple of Irenæus, and who probably flourished about A. D. 220,) asserts of the epistle to the Hebrews, that it is not Paul's, Eichh. p. 520. This Hippolytus is called, by Eusebius, a bishop of some place; but neither he, nor Jerome, knew its name. The probable opinion is, that it was Portus Romanus. Lard. iii. 89, seq. The assertion in question was made, as Photius states, in a book of Hippolytus against heresies, which he compiled from a work of Irenæus. But as the work is lost, all that remains is the statement of Gobar and Photius; which seems, however, to be entitled to credit.

In accordance with this denial of the Pauline origin of our epistle, is the testimony of Eusebius in respect to Caius.

Caius is called, by **Photius**, a presbyter of the church of **Rome**; which is quite probable, although **Eusebius** and **Jerome** simply state that he was a presbyter, without naming the place of his residence. He flourished, it is most probable, about A. D. 210. The statement of **Eusebius** is as follows.

“There hath come to us a dialogue of **Caius**, a most eloquent man, held at **Rome** under **Zephyrinus**, with **Proclus**, a patron of the Montanist heresy; in which, reproving the rashness and audacity of his opponents in forging new writings, he makes mention of only thirteen epistles of the holy apostle, not numbering that to the Hebrews with the others; and even to the present time, some of the Romans do not reckon it to be Paul’s.” Lard. III. 24. Eus. VI. 20. See the original, on p. 138. above.

The new writings or scriptures here mentioned, were the prophecies which the enthusiastic Montanists feigned to have delivered by inspiration; Montanus having declared himself to be the Paraclete. See Euseb. v. 14. 18. Jerome states, that Caius denied the epistle to the Hebrews to be Paul’s; De Vir. Illus. voc. Caius. But Eusebius and Photius simply say, that he omitted it in his account of the canonical books; which, however, virtually implies, under such circumstances, what Jerome declares.

In what circumstances this dialogue was composed; whether it was first actually held, for substance, with **Proclus**, and afterwards written down; or whether it was only written (like the dialogues of Plato, Cicero, and others,) in order to represent the sentiments of **Proclus** and confute them; whether it was held publicly, with the approbation of **Zephyrinus** and his presbyters, or not, we are not informed, and have no certain means of discovering. But I think it must be regarded as probable, that **Caius**

would not venture upon the publication of such a dialogue at Rome, without the concurrence or approbation of the church there.

Other evidence also is adduced, that doubts whether the epistle to the Hebrews was Paul's had already begun at Rome, and in the west, toward the close of the second century. Muratorius (*Antiqq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, Tom. III. p. 854,) has published a fragment of an anonymous author, who probably lived near the close of the second century, that contains a catalogue of books which he deemed canonical, and which lacks the epistle to the Hebrews, those of James, Peter, and 3d John; while it contains some apocryphal books. Speaking of Paul's epistles, this anonymous writer says, "Fertur [epistola] etiam ad Laodicenses. Alia apud Alexandrinos Paulli nomine ficta ad hæresin Marcionis, et alia plura; quæ in catholicam ecclesiam recipi non potest, fel enim cum melle misceri non congruit." That is, "An epistle is in circulation addressed to the Laodiceans. Another is current with the Alexandrians, forged in the name of Paul, for the sake of promoting the heresy of Marcion, and many other things; which the catholic church cannot receive, for it is not proper to mingle gall with honey."

Critics have supposed, that by the *alia apud Alexandrinos*, this writer means the *epistle to the Hebrews*, which was received by the Greeks or Alexandrians. But surely it must be very doubtful, whether our epistle to the Hebrews is meant, as this anonymous writer admits several books not canonical into his catalogue, and excludes several others which are so. Besides, he mentions another fictitious epistle, viz. that to the Laodiceans. Why may not this *epistle among the Alexandrians, forged in the name of Paul, in favour of the Marcion heresy*, be wholly different from

our epistle to the Hebrews; which has not, and never had, the name of Paul affixed to it? And then how could this writer say, *forged in favour of the Marcionite heresy*? a heresy which denied the divine origin of the Jewish religion, and rejected the God of the Old Testament; two fundamental articles on which our epistle to the Hebrews is built. Nothing could be more directly opposed to Marcion, than this epistle. The probability, therefore, is, that our epistle to the Hebrews is *not* designated by the anonymous writer in question. But if it really be the fact, that he did mean to designate it, his consummate ignorance of the nature of its contents forbids us to attach any weight of importance to his testimony.

But more definite and satisfactory evidence, that, about the close of the second century, there were doubts among the western churches whether our epistle was of apostolic origin, may be adduced from the works of Tertullian. This father, who flourished about A. D. 200, says in his book *De Pudicitia* (c. 20), “There is an epistle of Barnabas inscribed to the Hebrews; therefore by a man of such authority, that Paul placed him next to himself in respect to abstinence; ‘Am I and Barnabas only without power to do this?’ And, certainly, this epistle of Barnabas is more received among the churches, than the apocryphal *Pastor* of adulterers,” [he means the Shepherd of Hermas.] “Warning, therefore the disciples, that leaving the first principles, &c.” [quoting Heb. vi. 1, &c.]¹

¹ Volo, tamen, ex redundantia alicujus etiam comitis apostolorum testimonium superinducere, idoneum confirmandi de proximo jure disciplinam magistrorum. Exstat enim et Barnabæ titulus ad Hebræos, adeo satis auctoritatis viro, ut quem Paulus juxta se constituerit in abstinentiæ tenore; ‘Aut ego solus et Barnabas non habemus hoc operandi potestatem?’ Et utique receptior apud ecclesias epistola Barnabæ, illo apocrypho pastore mœchorum. Monens itaque discipulos, ‘Omissis omnibus initiis,’ &c. *De Pudicitia*, c. 20.

That Tertullian also alludes to the epistle to the Hebrews in other passages, seems to me quite probable, from the instances of this nature produced by Lardner, II. 608—612. But it no where appears, what credit he attached to this epistle. It is plain from the passage quoted, that he ascribed it to Barnabas; and not improbable, that the churches in his neighbourhood, and perhaps at Rome, did the same, at this period. It is also plain, that he does not ascribe *full* canonical credit to it, because he does not consider it as the work of an apostle; otherwise he would have vehemently urged its authority upon his opponents, as the passage which he quotes seems extremely apposite to his purpose, which was to prove that lapsed Christians could not again be received into the bosom of the church. That there was a division of opinion among the churches of his day, in the region where he lived, at least, seems to be plainly indicated, by his saying that this epistle was more correct, and of more authority in the churches, than the *Shepherd of Hermas*; which latter, however, we know to have been early admitted as part of the sacred records, by a number of churches in the West.

On the whole, it is plain that Tertullian did not admit our epistle to be Paul's; and that there were churches in that region, who doubted or denied that it was his.

Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, comes next as a witness for the negative of our question. He flourished about A. D. 248, i. e. the next generation after Tertullian, who died about A. D. 220. From Cyprian, however, no direct testimony can be adduced. It is agreed, that he no where quotes the epistle to the Hebrews in his works; which we cannot well account for, if he admitted its authority. There is but one passage hitherto produced from him, which seems

to have a bearing on our question. It is as follows ; "The apostle Paul, who was mindful of this authorized and well-known number, [he is speaking of the number *seven*,] writes to seven churches."¹ This would of course exclude the epistle to the Hebrews, as there are *seven* churches addressed besides this. But still, I cannot consider this testimony so decisive as Lardner and Eichhorn do, in respect to Cyprian's canon. For as the epistle to the Hebrews has no address, Cyprian may have had reference only to such of Paul's epistles as have an address to churches prefixed, which are seven in number. I do not therefore regard this passage as amounting to much. The fact that Cyprian has no where quoted the epistle to the Hebrews, considering how many writings he has left behind him, and how many occasions he had to quote the sentiments contained in it, renders it probable, either that he was unacquainted with the epistle, or that he did not admit its canonical authority.

Novatus, a presbyter of Rome (A. D. 251), the founder of the Novatian sect, is supposed by some critics not to have received the epistle to the Hebrews. This inference is drawn from the fact, that he does not appeal to it, in behalf of the sentiments which he maintained, respecting the exclusion of the lapsed heretics from re-admission to the church. There are passages in his writings, however, in which he seems to refer to the epistle to the Hebrews, e. g. "It is asserted of Christ, by prophets and apostles, that he sitteth at the right hand of the Father ;"² comp. Heb. i. 3.

¹ Et apostolus Paulus, qui hujus numeri legitimi et certi meminit, ad septem ecclesias scribit. De Exhort. Mart. cap. xi.

² Aut eum sedere ad dextram Patris, et a prophetis et ab apostolis approbatur. De Reg. Fid. c. xxvi.

Again, "Christ is found to be greater and better, not than one angel only, but than all the angels."¹ The last of these passages in particular, looks very much like a quotation from Heb. i. 4. Be the case as it may respecting Novatus himself, his followers, about thirty years afterwards, admitted the epistle in question; as is clear from the testimony of Philaster (about A. D. 380) on this subject, who states that they received the usual canon of the Old and New Testament. Philast. Hæres. 82.

This is all the negative testimony that I have been able to find, in the churches of the west, previously to A. D. 400; excepting what is implied in the statements of some of the Latin writers, to whom I shall now advert.

We have already seen, in the passage cited from Tertullian, an intimation of a difference of opinion among the western churches, in respect to the epistle to the Hebrews, as if some received and some rejected it. Lactantius, about 306, who does not often quote scripture, at least with any good degree of accuracy, seems to me to have some indubitable references to the epistle to the Hebrews, which Lardner has drawn out at length (vii. 185—188.); but as they only seem to recognize the authority of the epistle, but do not ascribe it to Paul, I shall not adduce them here.

The epistle to the Hebrews was clearly received as Paul's by Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, about A. D. 354; by Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari, about 354; by Victorinus, a famous rhetorician at Rome, about 360; by Ambrose, bishop of Milan, about 374; by Philaster, bishop of Brescia in Italy, about 380; who states, however, that

¹ Qui non uno, sed omnibus angelis et major et melior invenitur. De Reg. Fid. c. xx.

there were some who did not admit it to be Paul's; by Gaudentius, his successor, about 387; by the celebrated Jerome, about 392; by Ruffinus, about 397; and by Augustine, about 400.

But the testimony of Augustine and Jerome, whose influence appears to have been effectual in re-establishing the credit of the epistle to the Hebrews among the western churches, deserves to be adduced here, as it serves to show, that the Latin churches had not been united in respect to the point in question.

Jerome, in his epistle to Dardanus, has the following passage. "This is to be maintained, that this epistle, which is inscribed to the Hebrews, is not only received by the churches of the East as the apostle Paul's, but has been, in past times, by all ecclesiastical writers in the Greek language; although most [Latins] think that Barnabas or Clement was the author. And it matters not whose it is, since it belongs to some ecclesiastical man, and is daily commended by the reading of it in the churches. But if the custom of the Latins does not receive it among the canonical writings, &c."¹ Again; "Among the Romans, it is not received down to the present time as an epistle of Paul."² This general assertion means only that 'such is, or has been, the predominant custom among the Romans;' as is plain, from a passage in his epistle to Evagrius, where he says, "which epistle to the Hebrews all the

¹ Illud nostris dicendum est, hanc epistolam, quæ inscribitur ad Hebræos, non solum ab ecclesiis Orientis, sed ab omnibus retro ecclesiasticis Græce sermonis scriptoribus quasi apostoli Pauli suscipi; licet plerique eam vel Barnabæ, vel Clementis arbitrentur. Et nihil interesse cujus sit, cum ecclesiastici viri sit, et quotidie ecclesiarum lectione celebretur. Quodsi autem Latinorum consuetudo non recipit inter scripturas canonicas, etc.—Epist. ad Dardanum.

² Apud Romanos, usque hodie, quasi Pauli epistola non habetur. Opp. Tom. III. p. 46.

Greeks receive, and *some* of the Latins."¹ In his epistle to Paulinus, he says, "Paul the apostle writes to seven churches; for his eighth epistle to the Hebrews is placed by *most* out of the number of his."² And again, in his Comm. on Matt. xxvi. he says, "Paul in his epistle to the Hebrews, although *many* of the Latins doubt concerning it, says, &c."³

On a comparison of all these different passages together, the following appears to be the result of Jerome's testimony.

(1.) The majority of the Roman churches in his time did not receive the epistle as Paul's; "it is placed by most out of the number of Paul's epistles."

(2.) But some of the Latin churches did receive it still, in accordance with the custom of the Greek, i. e. oriental, churches; *omnes Græci recipiunt, et nonnulli Latinorum*.

(3.) The *reception* or *rejection* of this epistle, as described by Jerome, refers (one passage only excepted) to receiving it as *Paul's*, or refusing to admit *Paul* as the author. Jerome does not say, that the Roman churches condemned it as spurious. Nay, that he does not mean to say this, is very plain from his own express words; for after averring that "most persons [Romans] regard it as written either by Barnabas, or by Clement," he goes on to say, *nihil interesse cujus sit, cum ecclesiastici viri sit, et quotidie ecclesiarum lectione celebretur*. That is, it matters not about the person of the author, since he was an ecclesiastical man, and

¹ Quam epistolam ad Hebræos, omnes Græci recipiunt, et nonnulli Latinorum.—Epist. ad Evagrium.

² Paulus apostolus ad septem ecclesias scribit; octava enim ad Hebræos a plerisque extra numerum ponitur.—Epist. ad Paulinum.

³ Paulus, in epistola sua quæ scribitur ad Hebræos, licet de ea multi Latinorum dubitent, etc. loc. cit.

the churches every day read his epistle. But how much this means exactly, it is difficult to say; for the writer adds, *Quod si Latinorum consuetudo non recepit inter canonicas scripturas*, &c. By canonical Jerome seems to understand *apostolical*, or having that authority which the writings of an apostle has. So much is plain, then, viz. that in the day of this writer, the churches made a distinction between writings *apostolic* and *not apostolic*; and if so, it must have been by giving to the former a rank higher and more authoritative than the latter. On the whole, we must understand Jerome as meaning to aver, that while *some* of the Latin churches admitted Paul to be the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, and regarded this epistle as canonical in the highest sense, most of these churches doubted whether Paul was the author, and consequently gave the epistle but a secondary place in their canon; or rather, they read it, with the other books of Scripture, for edification, but (probably) did not appeal to it as *authoritative*.

The testimony of Augustine corresponds well with this. “*Many say, that [the epistle to the Hebrews] is Paul’s; but some deny it.*”¹ And again; “*In the epistle to the Hebrews, which the illustrious defenders of the catholic faith use as a witness, faith is called, &c.*”²

The council at Carthage, held A. D. 397, reckon this epistle among the divine and canonical writings, and attribute it to Paul.³

¹ *Plures apostoli Pauli dicunt [sc. epistolam ad Hebræos]; quidam vero negant.* De Civitate Dei, xvi. 22.

² In epistola quippe ad Hebræos, qua teste usi sunt illustres catholicæ regulæ defensores, fides esse dicta est, etc. De Fide, Spe, et Caritate, c. viii.

³ Sunt autem canonicæ Scripturæ Pauli epistolæ tredecim, ejusdem ad Hebræos una. Can. 47.

I have now traced the history of this epistle down to the fourth century, in the Egyptian, the Eastern, and the Western churches. Lower down it is altogether unnecessary to trace it; as all admit that it has had a general currency in the Christian churches every where, since that period.

§ 17. Result.

We now come to the result of this investigation. In the Egyptian and Eastern churches, there were, it is probable, at a pretty early period, some who had doubts whether Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews; but no *considerable* person or party is definitely known to us, who entertained these doubts; and it is manifest, from Origen and Eusebius, that there was not, in that quarter, any important opposition to the general and constant tradition of the church, that Paul did write it. Not a single witness of any considerable respectability is named, who has given his voice, in this part of the church, for the negative of the question which we are considering. What Jerome avers, appears to be strictly true, viz. *ab ecclesiis Orientis et ab omnibus retro ecclesiasticis Græci sermonis scriptoribus, quasi apostoli Pauli sustipi.*

In the Western churches, a diversity of opinion prevailed; although the actual quantity of negative testimony, that can be adduced, is not great. Yet the concessions of Jerome and Augustine leave no room to doubt the fact, that the *predominant* opinion of the western churches, in their times, was in the negative. In early times, we have seen that the case was different, when Clement of Rome wrote his epistle, and when the old Latin version was

brought into circulation. What produced a change of opinion in the West, we are left to conjecture. The scanty critical and literary records of those times, afford us no means for tracing the history of it. But this is far from being a singular case. Many other changes in the opinions of the churches have taken place, which we are, for a similar reason, as little able to trace with any certainty or satisfaction.

Storr has endeavoured to show, that Marcion occasioned this revolution, when he came from the East to Rome, and brought with him a collection of the sacred books, in which the epistle to the Hebrews was omitted. But it is very improbable, that an extravagant man, excommunicated by the Roman church itself, should have produced such a revolution there in sentiment. Others have, with more probability, attributed it to the zealous disputes at Rome against the Montanist party, whom the epistle to the Hebrews was supposed particularly to favour. The Montanists strenuously opposed the reception again into the bosom of the church, those persons who had so lapsed as to make defection from the Christian faith. The passages, in Heb. vi. 4—8, and x. 26—31, at least seem strongly to favour the views which they maintained. The church at Rome carried the dispute against the Montanists very high; and Ernesti and many other critics, have been led to believe, that the epistle to the Hebrews was ultimately rejected by them, because the Montanists relied on it as their main support.

As a matter of fact, this cannot be established by direct historical evidence. But, in the absence of all testimony in respect to this subject, it must be allowed as not improbable, that the epistle to the Hebrews may have, in this way, become obnoxious to the Romish church. Many

such instances might be produced, from the history of the church. The Ebionites, the Manicheans, the Alogi, and many ancient and modern sects, have rejected some part of the canon of Scripture, because it stood opposed to their party views. The Apocalypse was rejected by many of the oriental churches, on account of their opposition to the Chiliasts, who made so much use of it. And who does not know, that Luther himself rejected the epistle of James, because he viewed it as thwarting his favourite notions of *justification*; yea, that he went so far as to give it the appellation of *epistola straminea*? It cannot be at all strange, then, that the Romish church, exceedingly embittered by the dispute with the Montanists, should have gradually come to call in question the apostolic origin of our epistle; because it was, to their adversaries, a favourite source of appeal, and because (unlike Paul's other epistles) it was anonymous.

That *all* even of the Montanists, however, admitted the apostolic origin of our epistle, does not seem to be true. Tertullian, who took a very active part in favour of this sect, had, as we have already seen, doubts of such an origin; or rather, he ascribed it to Barnabas.

But whatever might have been the cause, that the epistle in question was pretty generally rejected, by the churches of the West, the *fact* that it was so, cannot be reasonably disputed. A majority of these churches, from the latter half of the second century to the latter half of the fourth, seem to have been generally opposed to receiving this epistle as Paul's; although there were some among them who did receive it.

It remains, then, to balance the testimony thus collected together and compared. The *early* testimony is, of course, immeasurably the most important. And there seems to me

sufficient evidence, that this was as general and as uniform, for the first century after the apostolic age, as in respect to many other books of the New Testament; and more so, than in respect to several. I cannot hesitate to believe, that THE WEIGHT OF EVIDENCE FROM TRADITION, IS ALTOGETHER PREPONDERANT IN FAVOUR OF THE OPINION, THAT PAUL WAS THE AUTHOR OF OUR EPISTLE.

§ 18. *Internal evidence that the epistle is Paul's.*

We come, then, next to inquire, whether the *internal condition* of the epistle corresponds with and confirms this tradition. The evidence drawn from this, may be divided into two kinds; first, *that which arises from circumstances mentioned or adverted to in the epistle*; and secondly, *that which arises from the style and manner of it.*

§ 19. *Evidence that it was Paul's, from circumstances mentioned or adverted to in the epistle.*

As our epistle no where exhibits the author's name, we can appeal, for internal testimony respecting the author of it, only to accidental circumstances which are developed in it.

(1.) The most striking one is that contained in XIII. 23, "Know ye, that our brother Timothy is ἀπολελυμένον, with whom, if he come speedily, I will pay you a visit." From the first acquaintance of Timothy with Paul, he had been his intimate friend and constant companion. That he was with Paul at Rome, during his imprisonment, we know for certainty; because Paul has united him in the salutation prefixed to the epistles written to the Philippians, Colos-

sians, and to Philemon, during his captivity in that city. Timothy was greatly beloved and confided in by Paul, as the manner in which he speaks of him, in several of his epistles, abundantly shows; and Paul often calls him (as here) his *brother*. But the meaning of the word ἀπολευμένον, as applied to Timothy, has been much contested; some rendering it, *set at liberty*, i. e. from prison; others, *sent away*, i. e. on some errand of Paul's. Giving to ἀπολευμένον the first meaning assigned it, viz. *liberated*, objectors have said that 'we have no account of Timothy's having been imprisoned during the life of Paul, and therefore, the occurrence of his imprisonment must have taken place after Paul's death; consequently the epistle must have been written by some *other* friend of Timothy, who calls him *brother*, in accordance with the usual style of the primitive Christians.'

Nothing, however, can be more unsafe or uncritical, than the supposition that the Acts of the Apostles, or Paul's epistles, give us a *full* and *complete* account of all which happened to the various persons who are named in them. E. g. Aristarchus is called by Paul, in Col. iv. 10, his fellow prisoner; as is Epaphras in Philem. v. 23; but where is the history of their imprisonment? The supposition by Bertholdt, that another Timothy, different from him who is so often mentioned in the sacred records, may be meant here, is doubtless a *possible* one; but is it a *probable* one? Have we any kind of ecclesiastical voucher, that there was another Timothy, who distinguished himself in the apostolic age? It is *possible* that one Virgil wrote the *Eneid*, and another the *Georgics*; yet who thinks it to be *probable*? But if this be insufficient, Bertholdt alleges that a different person from Paul may have been the intimate friend and travelling companion of Timothy, while Paul

was imprisoned at Rome; and that the passage we are considering, may have come from him. Eichhorn thinks it must have been written by such a friend of Timothy, after the death of Paul; as during his life Timothy closely adhered to this apostle. All this, no doubt, is *possible*; and a great many other hypotheses, which could be easily made, present no *impossibility*. But are they *probable*? And is not the language, which we are considering, more appropriate to the known relation of Paul and Timothy, than to the relation of any other person of that period with Timothy, concerning whom we have any knowledge? The spontaneous feeling of Christian readers, in all ages, has fully answered this question.

But what was the imprisonment which is adverted to by the word ἀπολαλόμενον? To suppose with Schmidt, (Hist. Antiq. Canon.,) and many others, that it was an imprisonment at Rome with Paul, is evidently preposterous; for how, if Timothy were already at Rome, could Paul, or any one else there say, *if he come, or return, speedily*? Must not Timothy have been *absent*, when this was said? If Timothy had been imprisoned abroad, and was then *liberated* (ἀπολαλόμενον), would he not have been the immediate bearer of the news himself to the apostle? I do not allege this as a certain fact, for possibly there may have been circumstances to prevent it. But then, it is not in itself very probable, that Paul in confinement at Rome would obtain information about Timothy, (who, if absent, was doubtless among some of the churches where Paul had been,) any sooner than those to whom he wrote our epistle; and who, as it appears from the manner in which Paul speaks of him to them, had a special regard for him.

Why, moreover, raise up all these difficulties in order to maintain an interpretation of ἀπολαλόμενον which accords no

better with the *usus loquendi* of the sacred or classical writers, than the rendering, *dismissed* or *sent away*? a sense so exactly consentaneous with the relation between Paul and Timothy. See Schleus. in voc. ἀπολύω No. 3. In Philip. ii. 19, (this epistle was written while Paul was a prisoner at Rome,) the apostle speaks of sending Timothy to them shortly, so soon as he should see how it would go with him, in respect to being liberated from prison, ii. 23; at the same time expressing a hope, that he should himself come to them shortly, v. 24. What then is more natural than the supposition, that he did send Timothy to them; and that, during his absence, Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews, in which he tells them, that Timothy was sent away, that he is now assured that he himself would be speedily set at liberty, and that he intends to pay them a visit in company with Timothy, if he should shortly return, viz. from Philippi? Many facts are believed by Bertholdt, and all other critics, which have less of verisimilitude to support them than this. Indeed, one cannot well see, how mere circumstantial evidence could be better adapted to make the impression of *probability* than this.

I do not feel the weight of the objection, made by alleging that Timothy was unknown to the church in Palestine, and that they could have no special interest with respect to the information in question. For, first, Timothy was the well-known and beloved companion of Paul, in all his journeyings during his later years; and must have been known as such, wherever Paul was known. Next, there can be no reasonable question, that he was with Paul during his last visit to Jerusalem, previously to the apostle's captivity for two years at Cesarea. Is there any probability, even if he were not with Paul during his journey to Jerusalem, that he did not frequently visit him in his

afflictions? And would not the church at Cesarea, therefore, be well acquainted with him? Specially so, as Timothy would be the more acceptable to the Palestine Jewish Christians, on account of his having received the rite of circumcision, after he became a convert to Christianity.

Now as all these circumstances do plainly accord with Paul's situation while a prisoner at Rome; with his relation to Timothy; and with the manner in which he employed him; and as we have not a syllable of testimony that they are applicable to any other person; I do not see how we can be justified, in denying that the evidence deducible from them is sufficient to render it quite probable, that Paul was the author of our epistle.

(2.) In Heb. xiii. 18, 19, the writer asks the prayers of those whom he addressed, that he might speedily be restored to them; and in Heb. xiii. 23, he expresses a confident expectation of "speedily paying them a visit." From these passages it is clear, that the writer was then in a state of imprisonment; and, also, that he was assured of a speedy liberation, which would enable him to pay the visit that he had encouraged them to hope for.

Compare this, now, with the situation of Paul at Rome, during the latter part of his imprisonment there. In his epistle to the Philippians, (written during that period,) he expresses his entire confidence that his life will be prolonged, so that he shall yet promote their religious profit and joy; τοῦτο πεποιθὼς οἶδα, ὅτι μενῶ καὶ συμπαραμενῶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, εἰς τὴν ὑμῶν προκοπὴν καὶ χαρὰν τῆς πίστεως, Phil. i. 25. Again, in Phil. ii. 24, he says, πέποιθα δὲ ἐν Κυρίῳ, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ταχέως ἐλεύσομαι, *I trust in the Lord, that I myself shall speedily come [to you]*. In the epistle to Philemon, (also written during the same imprisonment,) he says, ἐλπίζω γὰρ,

ὅτι διὰ τῶν προσευχῶν ὑμῶν χαρισθήσομαι ὑμῖν, *for I hope, that by your prayers I shall be restored to you*, v. 22. So confident was Paul of this, that he bids Philemon *prepare lodgings for him*, ἐτοίμαζε μοι ξενίαν, v. 22.

It appears very plainly, then, from these passages, that the writer had a satisfactory assurance in his mind of being speedily set at liberty; although, it is probable, a *formal* declaration of his acquittal had not yet been made by the Roman emperor. This last conclusion I gather from Phil. ii. 23, where Paul declares to the church whom he is addressing, “that he shall send Timothy to them immediately, ὡς ἂν ἀπιδῶ τὰ περὶ ἐμέ, *whenever I shall know how my affairs issue.*” By this it appears, that he was in daily expectation of receiving *official* notice of the determination of the emperor in respect to his case, but that he had not yet received it. That he had private information, however, of the way in which his case was likely to terminate, and information which pretty fully satisfied his mind, is evident from the manner in which he speaks, in the passages quoted above, of his intended visit to the Philippians, and to Philemon.

Supposing, now, as soon as an intimation was made by the Roman emperor, that Paul would be set at liberty, that intelligence respecting it was immediately communicated to the apostle, by *those of Cesar's household* (Phil. iv. 22,) who were his Christian friends; and supposing that, agreeably to his promise made to the Philippians ii. 23, he then immediately sent away Timothy to them; and supposing still further, (which surely cannot be regarded as improbable,) that there was some little delay in *formally* making out his sentence of acquittal, and carrying it into execution by actually liberating him from prison; then how obviously easy and natural is the expression in Heb. xiii. 23, “Know

that our brother Timothy is sent away; with whom, if he speedily return, I shall pay you a visit?" On the supposition that the *close* of the epistle to the Hebrews was written at this juncture of time, nothing can be more probable, than that the promised mission of Timothy, adverted to in Phil. ii. 23, is referred to in Heb. xiii. 23; and consequently that ἀπολυμένον here means *sent away, dismissed*, (as all must acknowledge it *may* mean,) and not, *liberated, or, set at liberty*.

The circumstances adverted to, or implied, in Heb. xiii. 23, Phil. ii. 23, and Philem. v. 22, have other correspondencies which deserve particular notice. In the two latter passages, it is plain that the writer *expects* his liberty, and means to send away Timothy to Philippi. In the former, he is *assured* of his liberty, and only waits for the return of Timothy, in order that he may set out to visit the Hebrews whom he had been addressing. In case Timothy did not return *speedily* (τάχιστα), it is plainly implied in Heb. xiii. 23, that the writer meant to set out on his journey without him. There was, then, some uncertainty in his mind, respecting the time when Timothy would return. How well all this accords with the journey of Timothy to a place so remote from Rome as Philippi, cannot fail to strike the mind of every considerate reader.

Now laying aside all favoritism for any previous opinions respecting our epistle, can it be reasonably doubted, that here is a concurrence of circumstances so striking, as to render it highly probable that Paul wrote it? More especially so, when we consider that the epistle must have been written, about the same period of time when these circumstances happened; for it proffers internal evidence of being written before the destruction of Jerusalem; and yet written so late, that the period when the Hebrews were

first converted to Christianity is adverted to as being already a considerable time before, Heb. v. 12, and is called *πρότερον ἡμῶν*, x. 32. Now the imprisonment of Paul, at Rome, happened probably A. D. 62 or 63, which was some thirty years after the gospel had begun to be preached abroad, and about seven years before the destruction of Jerusalem.

Taking all these circumstances together, it must be acknowledged that there is an extraordinary concurrence of them, which cannot but serve much to increase the probability that our epistle was written by Paul, near the close of his liberation at Rome.

The objections which Bertholdt makes against the arguments just presented, do not seem to be weighty. "Would *Paul*," he asks, "promise to revisit Palestine, when the people of that very country had sent him into captivity at Rome? A very improbable circumstance, indeed!"

But a nearer consideration of the circumstances attending Paul's case, will remove the appearance of so great improbability. For, first, Paul had been kept a prisoner, at Cesarea, two years before his removal to Rome, Acts xxiv. 25—27; and at Rome he lived two years more, in a similar condition, Acts xxviii. 30. These, with the time occupied by his going to Rome, and returning from it, would make nearly a five years' interval between his leaving Palestine and revisiting it. Might not some of his fiercest persecutors have died during this period? Or, might they not have laid aside their furious, persecuting zeal?

But, in the next place, supposing our epistle to have been sent to the church at Cesarea, where Paul had been treated with so much kindness during his imprisonment; could there have been any fear in his mind, with respect to

paying them a visit? And even if we suppose that Cesarea was not the place to which the letter was directed, but that it was sent to the Christians at Jerusalem; yet the objection brought forward by Bertholdt will not be of much validity. Paul was not to be deterred from going to Jerusalem, by the prospect of persecution. From the time when he first made his appearance there, after his conversion, the Jews had always showed a bitter enmity against him, and persecuted him. Yet this did not deter him from going, again and again, to that city. And why should it now deter him, any more than formerly?

Besides, he was now liberated from the accusations of the Jews, by the sentence of the emperor himself. Would they venture to do again, the very thing which the court of Rome had decided to be unlawful? Might not Paul well expect, with the decision of the emperor in his hand, to find his personal liberty for the future respected?

"But," says Bertholdt, "we have no account that Paul paid a visit to Palestine, after his liberation."

True. But what argument this can furnish, against the probability that he did pay such a visit, I do not perceive. Bertholdt himself, in the very paragraph which contains this objection, says, "Who does not know, that the accounts of what befel the apostles, and primitive teachers of Christianity, are very incomplete?" Every one knows, that Luke breaks off the history of Paul, with the account of his imprisonment at Rome. Has any writer given us a well-authenticated *supplement* to this? And can the want of any history of Paul, after the period of his imprisonment at Rome, be a proof that he never travelled to any particular place, or that he did not live and preach there? Surely this cannot be urged with any show of propriety.

I add only, that analogy would lead us to suppose that

Paul, when liberated, would go to Palestine, and then to the other churches in Asia Minor. Such was the general course of his travels; see Acts xviii. 22, seq. It is altogether consonant, then, with the usage of Paul, to suppose that he would visit the church at Palestine, after his imprisonment at Rome; and therefore natural to suppose that Heb. xiii. 23. refers to such an event.

(3.) If the reading in Heb. x. 34, "for ye had compassion *on my bonds*" (τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου), be correct, it is another argument that Paul is the author of our epistle; for his bonds in Palestine, whither the letter was sent, are well known. That he obtained compassion there, particularly during his two years' imprisonment at Cesarea, will not be questioned. But as the reading δεσμοῖς μου is controverted, and δεσμολοίς (*the prisoners*) is preferred by some good critics, I do not think proper to urge this argument; although the evidence is about equally in favour of δεσμοῖς μου, δεσμοῖς, and δεσμολοίς.

(4.) The salutation in Heb. xiii. 24. agrees with the supposition that Paul wrote this epistle; ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας. Paul, writing from Rome, which had communication of course with all parts of Italy, and with the Italian churches, may very naturally be supposed to have sent such a salutation. Indeed, the circumstances render this quite probable.

The objections made against this, do not strike me as forcible. Eichhorn alleges, that οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας must mean *people who had come from Italy*, i. e. who had left Italy, and were *locally* out of it, when the writer sent a salutation from them. Consequently, he concludes, the writer of the epistle could not have been Paul, during his imprisonment at Rome.

This interpretation, however, is not founded in the *usus*

loquendi of the Greek language. From the many proofs of this, which might be offered, I select only a few cases. Matt. xxi. 11, Ἰησοῦς . . . ὁ ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ, *Jesus the Nazarene*; Acts xvii. 13, οἱ ἀπὸ Θεσσαλονίκης Ἰουδαῖοι, *the Thessalonian Jews*. In this last case, the *Jews at Thessalonica*, not *out of it*, are meant; as is plain from the last part of the verse, which speaks of them as going to Berea, *after* they had heard the report of Paul's preaching there. So οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων γραμματεῖς, *the Jerusalem scribes*, Matt. xv. 1.

In the same manner, other prepositions, of the like signification with ἀπὸ, are used with the article, e. g. οἱ ἐκ ἐριθείας, *the contentious*; οἱ ἐκ νόμου, *sticklers for the law*; τὸ ἐξ οὐράνου, *heavenly*; οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας, *Cæsar's domestics*.

So far is Eichhorn's remark from being well founded, in regard to the meaning of such a phrase as οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας, that one may venture to say, it is incapable of such a meaning as he gives it. It is only when ἀπὸ, in such a connexion, is preceded by ἀφίστημι, ἀναβαίνω, ἐξέρχομαι, ἔρχομαι, καταβαίνω, &c. that it denotes, *being out of a country*. Οἱ ἀπὸ denotes, *belonging to*. Consequently the salutation in Heb. xiii. 24, means simply, *The Italians* [i. e. Italian Christians] *salute you*.

But here again, it is asked, 'How came Italians to salute a church in Palestine? If Paul wrote our epistle, at Rome, why did he not say, ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης? What acquaintance had the *Romans* with the church at Palestine?

This objection, however, will not bear examination. The Romans surely were *Italians*; and it is a matter of indifference, whether the writer at Rome said οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης, or οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας, if he meant to send only the salutation of Christians who resided at Rome. But is it at all pro-

bable, that there were not Christians often at Rome, from various parts of Italy, who were acquainted with Paul, and who cherished a friendly interest for the church whom he was addressing? If these also, as well as the *Romans*, wished to send the expression of their friendly regards to the Hebrews; what other phraseology could Paul have adopted, that would be more appropriate than *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας*, which would embrace Christians in general, who lived in the country where the writer was?

Then, why should this be thought so strange, when an example of the very same nature may be produced from the acknowledged writings of Paul? This apostle, writing from Ephesus (1 Cor. xvi. 8,) to the church at Corinth, says, *The churches of Asia salute you*, xvi. 19. May not the same questions be urged here, as objectors urge in the case above? May we not ask, How could the Asiatics be *personally* known to the Corinthians? And why should Paul speak of *the churches of Asia*, and not of that at Ephesus? Plainly, the reason of this was, that Christians from different parts of Asia Minor, (which is here meant,) were collected together in Ephesus, its capital, where they had intercourse with Paul, and knew that he was addressing the Corinthians, and desired an expression of their brotherly affection toward them. What is more common, every day, than for single individuals, or societies of men, who have never had any personal intercourse together, to exchange friendly salutations? Could not Paul as well send the salutations of *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας*, as of *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας*?

Such are the various circumstances adverted to in our epistle, which serve to render it probable that Paul was the author of it. From its nature, this evidence is *indirect*; but evidence of such a kind is, not unfrequently, as convincing as that which appears to be more direct. The

prefixing or suffixing of a writer's name to an epistle, is a more easy and obvious method of interpolation, than the insertion of minute circumstances, which imply a very intimate acquaintance with a writer's condition and circumstances.

Will any one undertake to show, that the circumstances, which are brought into view above, may be more probably attached to some other person than to Paul? If not, then the probability from them is in favour of Paul as the author of our epistle.

§ 20. *Evidence that the epistle is Paul's, from a similarity of sentiment, and also from the form, method, style, and diction of the composition.*

The preceding section treated of the facts or external circumstances, to which various passages of our epistle adverts; and what is gathered from these may be called, in a certain respect, a kind of *external* evidence. But a comparison of our epistle with the other acknowledged writings of Paul, remains yet to be made. This is a species of evidence, on which some have relied with great confidence; and it is remarkable, that it has been appealed to with equal confidence, both by those who defend, and by those who assail, the Pauline origin of the epistle to the Hebrews. Even in very ancient times, so early as the third century, the same occurrence took place. One might, perhaps, naturally enough conclude from this, that no very satisfactory evidence on either side would be obtained; but that the epistle contains things to which both parties may appeal, with some tolerable show of reason. Before coming however to such a conclusion, we ought at least to

make a thorough investigation, and to weigh well all the arguments, which are adduced to support the respective opinions to which I allude.

A comparison between our epistle and the acknowledged letters of Paul, may have respect to the *doctrines* taught in both; or to the *form* and *method*, as well as the *style* and *diction*, of the epistle. When these shall have passed in review before us, the allegations, with regard to a *dissimilarity* between the epistle to the Hebrews and other epistles of Paul, may be further discussed.

§ 21. *Similarity of DOCTRINES between the epistle to the Hebrews, and the acknowledged epistles of Paul.*

Are the sentiments, in our epistle, such as Paul was wont to teach? Do they accord with his, not only in such a general way as we may easily suppose the sentiments of all Christians in the apostolic age harmonized with each other, but have they the colouring, the proportion, the characteristic features of Paul's sentiments? Are they so stated and insisted on, as Paul is wont to state and insist on his?

The resemblance in respect to doctrine may be arranged, for the sake of perspicuity and distinction, under the following heads:

I. General preference of Christianity above Judaism.

There can, indeed, be no reasonable doubt, that all the apostles and primitive teachers of Christianity, who were well instructed in the principles of this religion, must have acknowledged and taught its superiority over the ancient religion of the Jews. The very fact, that they were Christians,

necessarily implies this. But still, it is quite certain, that the preference of the new above the ancient religion, is taught by Paul, in a manner different from that of other writers of the New Testament; and with more emphasis, in his writings, than in any other parts of the sacred volume.

The grounds of preferring Christianity to Judaism, may be classed under the following particulars.

(1.) *The superior degree of light, or religious knowledge, imparted by the gospel.*

In his acknowledged epistles, Paul calls Judaism, τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, Gal. iv. 3; and again, τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα, Gal. iv. 9. He represents it as adapted to children, νήπιοι, Gal. iv. 3, who are in a state of nonage and pupilage, Gal. iv. 2, or in the condition of servants rather than that of heirs, Gal. iv. 1.

On the other hand, Christians attain to a higher knowledge of God, Gal. iv. 9; they are no more as servants, but become sons, and obtain the privileges of adoption, Gal. iv. 5, 6. They are represented as τέλειοι, 1 Cor. xiv. 20; as being furnished with instruction adequate to make them ἄνδρες τελείους, Eph. iv. 11—13. Christianity leads them to see the glorious displays of himself which God has made, with an unveiled face, i. e. clearly, 2 Cor. iii. 18; while Judaism threw a veil over these things, 2 Cor. ii. 13. Christianity is engraven on the hearts of its votaries, ἡ διακονία τοῦ πνεύματος, 2 Cor. iii. 8; while Judaism was engraven on tablets of stone, ἐντετυπομένη ἐν λίθοις, 2 Cor. iii. 7.

Such is a brief sketch of Paul's views in respect to this point, as presented in his acknowledged epistles. Let us now compare these views, with those which the epistle to the Hebrews discloses.

This epistle commences with the declaration, that God,

who in times past spake to the fathers by the prophets, hath, in these last days, spoken to us by his Son, Heb. i. 1. ii. 1 seq. Judaism was revealed only by the mediation of angels, ii. 2; while Christianity was revealed by the Son of God, and abundantly confirmed by miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost, ii. 3, 4. The ancient covenant was imperfect, in respect to the means which it furnished for the diffusion of knowledge; but the new covenant provides that all shall know the Lord, from the least to the greatest, viii. 9—11. The law was only a sketch or imperfect representation of religious blessings; while the gospel proffers the blessings themselves, x. 1. The worthies of ancient times had only imperfect views of spiritual blessings; while Christians enjoy them in full measure, xi. 39, 40.

(2.) *The gospel holds out superior motives and encouragements to virtue and piety.*

Paul represents the condition of the Jews, while under the law, as like to that of children, immured and kept under the eye of masters and teachers, Gal. iii. 23. iv. 2; as being in bondage, Gal. iv. 3; as servants, iv. 1; as children, iv. 3; and as having the spirit of bondage, Rom. viii. 15. This servile spirit, which inspired them with fear, Rom. viii. 15, gives place, under the Christian religion; to the spirit of adoption, by which they approach God with filial confidence, Rom. viii. 15—17. Christianity has liberated us from pedagogues, and made us partakers of the privileges of sons and heirs, Gal. iii. 25, seq. iv. 4 seq. The liberty of the gospel affords urgent motives for the practice of virtue, Gal. v. 1 seq. v. 13 seq. The spirit imparted under the gospel furnishes aid, and creates special obligation, to mortify our evil passions and affections, Rom. viii. 12—17. Circumcision is now nothing, and uncircumcision nothing; but obedience to the commands of God is the all-important consideration,

1 Cor. vii. 19. Not circumcision or uncircumcision is matter of concern, under the Christian religion, but a new creation, i. e. a spiritual renovation, Gal. vi. 15, and faith which worketh by love, Gal. v. 6.

Turn we now to the epistle to the Hebrews. There we find, that the sacrifices prescribed by the Jewish law could not quiet and purify the conscience of the worshipper, ix. 9; nor deliver him from the pollution of sin, in order that he might, in a becoming manner, worship the living God; which is effected only under the gospel, ix. 14. The law served to inspire its votaries with awe and terror, Heb. xii. 18—21; but the gospel with cheering confidence, xii. 22—24. Now we may obtain grace to serve God in an acceptable manner, xii. 28. We have a covenant established on better promises than the ancient one, viii. 6—13; and are urged by more powerful motives to a holy life under the gospel, xii. 25—29.

It must be admitted, in respect to the particulars of the comparison just drawn, that the *diction* of the passages generally, in the epistle to the Hebrews, presents no very striking resemblances to that in Paul's acknowledged epistles. But this, as will be easily seen by inspecting all the passages drawn into the comparison, may very naturally result from the different topics with which the passages from our epistle stand connected. The *mode* of introducing these topics is different, because it arises from different occasions of introducing them. But the fundamental ideas in both are the same. Other writers also of the New Testament urge the obligations of Christians to peculiar holiness of life; but what other writers, except Paul, urge it from *comparative* views of the Jewish and Christian dispensations?

(3.) *The superior efficacy of the gospel, in promoting and ensuring the real and permanent happiness of mankind.*

Paul represents the law as possessing only a condemning power, and subjecting all men to its curse, in consequence of disobedience, Gal. iii. 10. It is the ministry of death, 2 Cor. iii. 7; the ministry of condemnation, 2 Cor. iii. 9; by it none can obtain justification or pardoning mercy, Gal. iii. 11. Rom. iii. 20.

On the contrary, Christianity is the ministry of pardon, τῆς δικαιοσύνης, 2 Cor. iii. 9; it holds out forgiveness of sins for the sake of Christ, gratuitous pardon on account of him, Rom. iii. 24, 25. Eph. i. 7. Through him, we are allowed to cherish the hope of future glory, Rom. v. 1, 2; and this without perfect obedience to the law, Rom. iii. 21. Gal. ii. 16. Acts xiii. 38, 39. And to such blessings, under the gospel, is attached a most important circumstance, in order to heighten their value, viz. that they are *perennial*, and not (like the Mosaic institutions) liable to abolition, 2 Cor. iii. 11.

In correspondence with all this, the epistle to the Hebrews represents the Mosaic dispensation, as one which was calculated to inspire awe and terror, Heb. xii. 18—21; the offerings and sacrifices which it enjoined, could never tranquillize and purify the conscience of the worshipper, ix. 9; for it was impossible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sin, x. 4. 11. The blood of Christ has made a real expiation, procured forgiveness, and liberated the conscience from an oppressive sense of guilt, ix. 11—14. v. 9. vi. 18—20. Christ by his death has delivered us from the condemning power of sin, and freed us from the oppressive fear which it occasions, ii. 14, 15. He has procured access to God, and is ever ready to aid those who approach him, vii. 25. ix. 24. The offering which he has made for sin

has a perennial influence, and without repetition remains for ever efficacious, ix. 12. 25—28. x. 12. vii. 23—28.

Other writers also of the New Testament have set before us the blessings of the gospel; and these, as connected with what Christ has done and suffered. But what other writer, except Paul, has charged his picture with such a contrast between the Mosaic and Christian dispensations, and thrown so much shade over the one, and light over the other? If the hand of Paul be not in the epistle to the Hebrews, it is the hand of one who had drunk deeply of his doctrines, and in a high degree participated of his feelings and views.

(4.) *The Jewish dispensation was only a type and shadow of the Christian.*

Thus Paul often represents it. Meats and drinks, feasts and new moons and sabbaths, are σκια τῶν μελλόντων, but the σῶμα is Christ, Col. ii. 16, 17. The passage through the Red Sea was typical of Christian baptism; and the manna, of our spiritual food, 1 Cor. x. 1—6. The occurrences under the ancient dispensation were typical of things under the new, 1 Cor. x. 11. In like manner, Paul calls Adam τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος, i. e. a type of Christ, Rom. v. 14. comp. 1 Cor. xv. 45—47. The Mosaic institution did but darkly shadow that, which is clearly revealed under the gospel, 2 Cor. iii. 13—18. Hagar and Sarah may be considered as allegorically representing the law and the gospel, or the two covenants, Gal. iv. 22—31. The law was only our pedagogue until the coming of Christ, under whom full privileges are enjoyed, Gal. iii. 23—25. iv. 1—5.

The epistle to the Hebrews, in like manner, represents the Jewish rites and ordinances only as a παραβολή, i. e. a significant emblem of blessings under the gospel; and these rites were imposed only until the time of reformation, ix.

9—14. The law was only *σκιὰ* of good things to come; while the gospel proffered the very things themselves, x. 1. All the Levitical ritual, the temple itself and all its appertinences, were only a *ὑπόδειγμα* of the temple in which Christ ministers, and of the functions which he performs, viii. 1—9. ix. 22—24; they were a designed emblem of the objects of the new dispensation, ix. 9.

The question may be emphatically put, here—What other parts of the New Testament, the writings of Paul excepted, furnish us with views of such a nature as these exhibit? Manifestly Pauline is both the sentiment, and the costume which the writer has put upon it.

(5.) *While the Christian dispensation is designed for perpetuity, the Jewish institutes are abolished on account of their imperfection.*

Paul represents the Law as having no glory, in comparison with Christianity, 2 Cor. iii. 10; it was designed to be abolished, when the perennial dispensation of Christ should be introduced, 2 Cor. iii. 11. 13. The veil over the ancient dispensation rendered it obscure, and hindered the Jews from fully comprehending it; but the time was come, under the gospel, when that veil was removed, and the glory of God was seen with open face, 2 Cor. iii. 13—18. The law being altogether incapable of justifying sinners, gives place to another and gratuitous method of justification, Rom. iv. 14—16. Christians are dead to the law, and affianced to another covenant, Rom. vii. 4—6. The law was incompetent to effect the designs of divine benevolence, and therefore gives place to a more perfect dispensation, Gal. iii. 21—25. iv. 1—7. v. 1. It was void of power to justify the sinner, and therefore the interposition of Christ became necessary, Rom. viii. 3, 4. Gal. ii. 16.

On the other hand, the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews

represents the new covenant as inspiring better hopes than the ancient one did, and the latter as taxable with defects, viii. 6—8. The old covenant is antiquated, and ready to expire, *ἔγγυς ἀφανισμοῦ*, viii. 13. Christ is appointed high priest according to a new order of priesthood, different from the Levitical one; because the dispensation, by which the latter received its appointment, was weak, and incompetent to effect the introduction of such hopes as the gospel inspires, vii. 17—19. Burnt-offerings and sacrifices can never take away sin, Christ only can effect this; so that, when his offering is made, it needs not to be repeated, but is of sufficient and everlasting efficacy, x. 1—14.

Other writers of the New Testament have also appealed to the efficacy of Jesus' atoning blood; but who, besides Paul, has thrown this whole subject into an attitude of contrast with the inefficiency of the Jewish dispensation?

Thus much for our first general head, by way of comparing the *sentiments* of Paul with those of our epistle, in respect to the grounds of preference over Judaism, which Christianity affords.

II. The person and work of the Mediator, Jesus Christ.

Under this head, the following particulars are entitled to our consideration:

(1.) *The PERSON of the Mediator is presented in the same light, by the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews, and by Paul.*

Paul, in various passages, represents Christ as the image of God, as the resemblance or likeness of the Father; as humbling himself, or condescending to assume our nature, and suffer death in it; and as being exalted in consequence of this, i. e. as a reward of his benevolence and obedience, to the throne of the universe, and made head over all things.

Thus, in Philip. ii. 6—11, Christ being *ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ*, took on himself our nature, and obeyed or subjected himself, in the same, unto death, even the death of the cross; in consequence of which God hath given him a name above every other, so that all in heaven or on earth must bow the knee to him. In Col. i. 15—20, Christ is represented as the image of the invisible God; as having created all things in heaven and in earth; all things are said to consist by him; over all he has a distinguished pre-eminence; and by his sufferings and death he has produced a reconciliation among the creatures of God, and made expiation for sin, so that God treats the pardoned sinner as if he were innocent. In 2 Cor. viii. 9, Paul says, that the Lord Jesus Christ, who was rich, became poor on our account, that we through his poverty might become rich. In Eph. iii. 9, God is said to have created all things by Jesus Christ; and in 1 Cor. viii. 6, all things are said to be by him. In 1 Cor. xv. 25—27, it is declared that he must reign until all things are put under his feet.

The peculiarity of this Pauline representation consists, in presenting Christ as the *image* of God; in specifying the act of humility by which he became incarnate, *he humbled himself*, *ἐκένωσε σεαυτὸν*—*though rich he became poor*; in presenting his obedience and sufferings, as the ground of his elevation to the throne of the universe, in the mediatorial nature; in representing him as head over all, both friends and enemies, and as reigning until his enemies be made his footstool; and finally, in representing God as having created all things *by him*.

If we turn now to the epistle to the Hebrews, we find the same representations there. The Son of God is the reflection of the Father's glory, his exact image or resem-

blance, *χαρακτήρ*, i. 3. God made all things by him, i. 2. He directs all things by his powerful word, i. 3. He was in a state of humiliation (*ἡλαττωμένον*), lower than the angels, ii. 9. He took part in flesh and blood, that he might, by his own death, render null and void the destructive power of the devil, ii. 14. On account of the suffering of death, he is exalted to a state of glory and honour, ii. 9. He endured the sufferings of the cross, making no account of its disgrace, but having a regard to the reward set before him, which was a seat at the right hand of God, xii. 2. All things are put under his feet, ii. 8. x, 13; where the very same passage from the Old Testament is quoted, which Paul quotes in 1 Cor. xv. 25—28, and it is applied in the same manner.

Is all this, now, mere *accident*? What other writer of the New Testament presents such speciality of views respecting Christ's resemblance to God, his mediatorial character, his obedience, sufferings, and exaltation in our nature to the throne of the universe? No other writer presents them in the same connexion, employs the same images for comparison, or brings the topics to view in the same light. There is a peculiarity of representation so distinctly marked here, so exclusively Pauline in its manner, that if Paul himself did not write the epistle to the Hebrews, it must have been some one, who had drunk in so deeply of his instructions, as to become the very image of the fountain whence he drew.

(2.) *The death of Christ as a propitiatory sacrifice for sin, and the reconciliation of sinners to God by means of this sacrifice.*

Other writers, indeed, of the New Testament, besides Paul, teach this doctrine. But there is in his letters, a

peculiar and urgent manner of enforcing it. Oftener than any other writer, does he recur to this interesting theme; and in all his representations, it stands in high relief.

The general annunciation of it is often repeated. Christ came into the world to save sinners, 1 Tim. i. 15. He died for our sins, 1 Cor. xv. 3. He was given up or devoted to death, on our account, Rom. viii. 32. Our redemption was wrought by him, Rom. iii. 24. He was given up, i. e. to death, on account of our offences, Rom. iv. 25. He gave up himself for our sins, Gal. i. 4. ii. 20. He gave up himself an acceptable sacrifice for us, Eph. v. 2. He was our paschal lamb, 1 Cor. v. 7. By his blood we have redemption or forgiveness of sin, Eph. i. 7. Col. i. 14. He gave himself a ransom for all, 1 Tim. ii. 6. 1 Cor. vi. 20. vii. 23. These may serve as a specimen of the general statement, which Paul so frequently makes of this subject.

But he also recurs very often to this topic, in his reasonings at length, and insists upon it with particularity. In his epistle to the Romans, he labours at length to prove the universal guilt of men, in order to show that salvation by Christ is necessary for all, Rom. iii. 22—27. v. 12—21. He urges the impossibility of obtaining this salvation by the law, Rom. iii. 20. 28. viii. 3. Gal. ii. 16. 21, averring that Jesus, by his death, has effected what the law could not do. Assuming our nature, he became a sin-offering for us, Rom. viii. 3. He became a propitiatory sacrifice on our account, so that through him we may obtain pardoning mercy, Rom. iii. 24—26. As all men have come into a state of condemnation through Adam, so all men may come into a state of pardon through Christ, Rom. v. 12—21. comp. 2 Cor. v. 14. 19—21. Now, since Christ died for us, Christians may regard God as no more inclined to

punish them as guilty, for they are in a state of peace and pardon, Rom. v. 1. 8—11. viii. 32. Now we may hope for abounding grace and happiness, Rom. v. 17. vi. 23. viii. 17. 32. Jesus at the right hand of God is ever ready to aid us, Rom. viii. 34. Jesus is the Mediator between God and man, to make reconciliation, 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6.

It were easy to add many other passages of the same tenor, from the acknowledged writings of Paul; but these are sufficient to exhibit his views, and the mode in which he inculcates them.

In the epistle to the Hebrews, we find the same sentiments, urged with the same ardour. Christ, by the sacrifice of himself, made expiation for our sins, i. 3. By the grace of God, assuming our nature, he tasted death for all, ii. 9. He became, through his sufferings, the author of eternal salvation to believers, v. 8, 9.

But no where is there more speciality of argument to establish this great point, than in Heb. vii. viii. ix. and x.; nearly all of which is occupied with it. The Jewish offerings are altogether insufficient to make expiation, ix. 9—14. vii. 11. 19. x. 1. 11. Those offerings needed constant repetition; and even then, they could never remove sin, v. 1—3. vii. 27, 28. ix. 6, 7. 25. x. 4. 11. Christ by offering up himself has effected this, i. 3. vii. 27. ix. 25, 26. By his own blood, not with that of beasts, he entered into the eternal sanctuary, once for all making expiation for sin, ix. 12—15. x. 10—12. 14. 19. By his death he has delivered us from the oppressive fear of condemnation, ii. 14, 15. He has tranquillized and purified the conscience of penitent sinners, which the law could not do, ix. 9. 14. He is the mediator of a new covenant, ix. 15. xii. 24; which is better than the ancient one, vii. 22. viii. 6. He is exalted to the throne of the universe, ii. 6—10; and

he is ever ready and able to assist us, iv. 14—16. vii. 25. He has introduced us to a dispensation, which speaks not terror only, like the law, but offers abounding grace and happiness, xii. 18—29.

Such are some of the more striking *traits of doctrine*, and *peculiarities in the mode of representing them*, common to the acknowledged epistles of Paul and to the epistle to the Hebrews.

§ 22. *Form and method of the epistle to the Hebrews, compared with those of Paul's acknowledged epistles.*

These topics may be considered, either in a general point of view, as it respects the arrangement of the epistle at large; or specially, as having reference to various particulars which it exhibits.

(1.) *The general method or arrangement of this epistle, is like to that of Paul.*

Most of all does it resemble his two epistles to the Romans, and to the Galatians; which exhibit first a theoretical or doctrinal, then a practical, part. The epistle to the Romans is principally occupied, to the end of the tenth chapter, with the doctrinal part; and the remainder with practical matter and salutations. In like manner, the epistle to the Galatians, as far as the end of the fourth chapter, is principally doctrinal discussion; while the remainder is hortatory and practical. In some degree, the same thing may be said of the epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, and Thessalonians. But that to the Romans is most distinctly marked of all.

Turning now to the epistle to the Hebrews, we find that it is composed on a similar plan. As far as chapter x. 19,

it is principally doctrinal. It has, however, like Paul's other epistles, occasional exhortation intermixed, which the strength of the writer's feelings plainly appears to have forced from him. Hence to the end, it is hortatory and practical.

In the epistle to the Romans, just before the salutatory part begins, the writer earnestly asks for a special interest in the prayers of those whom he addressed, in order that he may be delivered from the power of persecution; and he follows this request with a petition, that the God of peace might be with them, and concludes with an *Amen*, Rom. xv. 30—33. The very same order, petition, style, and conclusion, appear at the close of the epistle to the Hebrews, xiii. 18—21. The writer begs an interest in their prayers, that he may be restored to them the sooner; commends them to the *God of peace*, (an expression used no where else but in Paul's writings and in the epistle to the Hebrews); and concludes with an *Amen*, before the salutation.

Is all this arrangement, to which we have now adverted, merely *accidental*; or does it look, as if it must have come from the hand of the same writer? I know, indeed, it has been said, that the order of nature and propriety would lead every man, writing an epistle which contained doctrinal discussion and practical exhortation, to arrange them in such a manner that the former should precede; and that this arrangement, therefore, cannot with probability be represented as exclusively *Pauline*. With the views of rhetorical propriety, which are entertained by classical scholars of the present day, I readily acknowledge that such an order is almost spontaneous. But then, another question arises here. Why has not Paul adopted this in all his epistles? And why has neither John, nor

James, nor Peter, nor Jude adopted it? All these apostles have commingled doctrine and practice, throughout their epistles. *Regularly* arranged discussion of doctrine, they do not exhibit. In this respect, the only similars to the epistle to the Hebrews, are to be found in the epistles of Paul. But if the general arrangement here adverted to, be not considered as of much weight in the matter before us, it must be admitted, that there is a striking resemblance between the close of the practical part, just before the salutations or greetings, in the epistles to the Romans and to the Hebrews. Here, also, we find the exclusively Pauline phrase, *the God of peace*, employed in the same way, in both epistles.

(2.) *The manner of appealing to and employing the Jewish Scriptures, in Paul's acknowledged epistles and in the epistle to the Hebrews, is the same.*

I do not refer here to the *formulas* of quotation, by which a passage from the Old Testament is introduced. I have compared those formulas presented by the epistle to the Hebrews, with those in Paul's epistles; but I do not find any thing peculiar enough in either, to mark Paul's writings with any certainty; as I shall endeavour to show, in its proper place. Every where, in the New Testament, a great variety of such formulas is found, as also in the epistles of Paul. I refer now, in a particular manner, to the *method* in which, and the *frequency* with which, the Jewish Scriptures are employed; and that in a similar way, both in the epistle to the Hebrews, and in the acknowledged epistles of Paul. Paul often quotes and combines passages of Scripture, without any notice of quotations; e. g. Rom. ix. 7. 21. x. 6—8. 18. xi. 33, 34. xiii. 9. In Rom. iii. 10—18, several passages from different parts of the Scriptures are combined together, without any notice that this is done.

In the same manner does the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews proceed; e. g. iii. 2. vi. 14. x. and xi. throughout; also, in xii. 5, 6. 12, 13. and xiii. 6, quotations, with a general appeal, are made from different parts of Scripture connected together. Paul makes a very frequent and copious use of the Jewish Scriptures, in all the argumentative part of his epistles; so does the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews. Paul often appeals to the Jewish Scriptures, as *prophetically* declaring the abrogation of the Mosaic economy, and to Abraham, as having received a covenant which the law could not annul; the same does the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews. Paul employs the Old Testament, in every way in which the Jews of that time were usually accustomed to reason from it. Sometimes he appeals to direct and prophetic assurances; sometimes to similarity of sentiment; sometimes he accommodates passages, which in the original have a local or temporary meaning, to designate something then extant, or happening at the time in which he wrote; sometimes he appeals to the history of the Old Testament, for analogical cases to confirm or impress the doctrine or truth which he inculcates; and sometimes he uses the Old Testament language as a vehicle of thought, in order to express his own ideas. The very same traits characterize, in a most visible manner, the method in which the Old Testament is employed throughout the epistle to the Hebrews; as every attentive reader must plainly see, without my delaying here to specify individual cases.

In a particular manner does Paul employ passages of the Jewish Scripture, and Scripture history, κατ' ἀνθρώπων; in other words, he uses them by way of *argumentum ad hominem* or *argumentum ex concessis*. It is thus that he allegorizes, on the two sons of Sarah and Hagar, in Gal.

iv. 24 seq.; on the command of Moses, not to muzzle the ox which treadeth out the corn, Deut. xxxv. 4, the spirit of which he applies to the maintenance of religious teachers, in 1 Cor. ix. 9; on the rock from which the Israelites obtained water, Ex. xvii. 6, which he considers as an emblem of Christ, in 1 Cor. x. 2 seq.; on the veil over Moses' face, Ex. xxxiv. 33, which he applies to the comparative obscurity that rested on the Jewish revelation, in 2 Cor. iii. 13, 14; on the declaration that a man should leave his father and mother, and cleave to his wife, and that they twain should become one flesh, Gen. ii. 24, which he applies to the union of Christ and his church in Eph. v. 31, 32.

How conspicuous this method of reasoning is, in the epistle to the Hebrews, need not be insisted on to any attentive reader. The whole comparison between Christ and Melchisedek, Heb. vii., is of a similar nature with those already mentioned. The temple and all its apparatus, and the holy place, which the high priest entered with his expiatory offerings of blood, are types and shadows of the temple, of the offering, and of the great high priest presenting it in the heavens, Heb. viii. 1—5. ix. 1—9. Indeed the strain of argumentation, throughout, is often *ad hominem* or *ex concessis*. The argument that Christ is a more exalted personage than the angels, than Moses, than the high priest; that Christ's priesthood, the temple in which he officiates with all its apparatus, the offering of blood which he makes, and his official duties as a priest, are all spiritual, heavenly, elevated above all the corresponding things in the Jewish dispensation, to which the Jew adhered with so strong an attachment, and by which he was tempted to make defection from his Christian profession, is peculiarly *ad hominem*. We who are not Jews, and who have never

felt the power of their prejudices, need not, in order to produce in us a conviction of the importance of Christianity, to be addressed with comparisons drawn from ritual types, and from the analogy of such objects. But these were all familiar to the Jew, and were not only attractive to him, but, in his view, of the highest importance. No one, indeed, can reasonably find fault, that the writer addresses the Jews *as such*; reasons with them *as such*; and makes use of those arguments, whether *ad hominem* or *ex concessis*, which he knew would produce the most powerful effect in persuading them to hold fast the truths of Christianity. There is nothing in this, which is inconsistent with the maxim of that apostle, who became "all things to all men;" with the Jews, demeaning himself and reasoning as a Jew, and in like manner with the Gentiles, in order that he might win both to Christianity.

But it is not my object, here, to defend the *manner* of argumentation employed in Paul's acknowledged epistles, and in the epistle to the Hebrews. I design merely to show, (what cannot be denied,) that the same method of reasoning from sentiments and objects presented by the Old Testament, is exhibited by both, and in a manner which cannot well escape the attention of the inquisitive reader.

I will only ask now, What other writers of the New Testament have exhibited the traits of composition, which I have noted under this head, in the same degree, or with the same frequency? Nay, I venture to affirm, that there is scarcely an approximation, in any of their writings, to those of Paul, either in regard to the frequency or the latitude of the usage in question.

But it may be said, "This only shows, that these other writers named were not the authors of the epistle to the Hebrews; not that Paul wrote this epistle."

It seems to me, however, to go somewhat further. It proves that the characteristics peculiar to Paul's epistles and to the epistle to the Hebrews, were not the general or universal characteristics of writers of that age; and of course that either Paul, or one who had drunk in deeply of his doctrine and manner, must have written the epistle in question.

(3.) *The manner of Paul's reasoning, in respect to separating his premises from his conclusion, or his protasis from his epitasis, bears a striking resemblance to that which is found in the epistle to the Hebrews.*

The peculiarity I have in view, is the enthymeme or imperfect form of syllogism, and unfinished sentences and comparisons; which, it has been often observed, are characteristic of Paul's mode of writing. He states the major, or major and minor terms, of a syllogism; or the first parts of a sentence or comparison; and then leaving it in this unfinished state, he turns aside to illustrate or confirm some hint, which was suggested to his mind by what he had stated; or some train of thought is introduced, to which the natural association of ideas would lead; and after descanting on this, he returns, and with, or without, repeating his proposition or sentence at first commenced, presents in full the conclusion or epitasis, which is required to complete it.

A striking example of this occurs in Rom. v. 12—18. "Wherefore," says he, "as by one man sin entered the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, in that all have sinned," v. 12. The premises being thus stated, he turns aside to descant on the universality of sin, its pernicious consequences, and the salutary effects of the blessing which is proffered by Christ; and it is not until he reaches the 18th verse of the chapter, that the

proposition which he had commenced is repeated, and the conclusion fully brought out, where it is thus stated, "Therefore as by one offence, condemnation came upon all men; so by the obedience of one, the blessing of justification unto life comes upon all men."

So in Rom. ii. 6, Paul says, "Who [God] will render to every man according to his works;" and after nine verses of explanatory matter, which was suggested by the mention of *rendering to every man according to his works*, he adds, at last, the remainder of the sentence which he had begun, viz. "in the day when the secret doings of men shall be judged by Jesus Christ, according to the gospel which I preach," Rom. ii. 16.

So in Eph. iii. 1, the apostle says, "For this cause, I Paul the prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentiles;" then leaving the sentence thus commenced, he proceeds on twelve verses, with thoughts suggested by the mention of his being a messenger to the Gentiles; and finally, in the 13th verse, he adds the conclusion of the sentence commenced in the first, viz. "I desire that ye faint not at my tribulations for you, which is your glory."

In the same way has the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews constructed some of his reasonings and sentences. In Heb. iv. 6, he says, "Seeing then it remains that some should enter into [the rest], and they to whom the good tidings were formerly proclaimed, did not enter in through unbelief—;" the sentence is then suspended, until the writer introduces another quotation from the Psalms, and reasons upon it, in order to prove that the rest in question could not have been such a rest as the land of Canaan proffered. After this, and in the 9th verse, we have the concluding part of the sentence or syllogism, viz. "there remaineth then a rest for the people of God." How entirely this

coincides with the Pauline manner above exhibited, must strike the mind of every one who considers it.

So in Heb. v. 6, the writer introduces the divine appointment of Christ as a priest after the order of Melchisedek, with a design to show that this was an appointment of the most *solemn* nature, and of a higher order than that of the Jewish priests. He then suspends the consideration of this topic, and introduces another, in vs. 7—9; after which he resumes the former topic. But no sooner does he do this, than he turns aside once more, in order to descant upon the difficulties which present themselves in the way of an ample discussion of it. These result from the very imperfect state of religious knowledge among those whom he addresses, v. 11—14; the criminality and danger of which state he dwells upon at large, in chap. vi. intermixing threats and encouragements. It is not until we come to chap. vii. 1, that the subject of Melchisedek's priesthood is resumed; where it is treated of, at full length.

So in Heb. ix. 7, the writer says, that 'the Jewish high priest entered into the holy place, once in each year, with the blood of victims, in order to make atonement.' This is designed as one member of a comparison; but the other member follows only in ix. 12, after descanting on several matters suggested by what the writer had stated. There the antithesis is stated, viz. "Jesus, the high priest of future blessings, entered the sanctuary of the temple not made with hands, with his own blood accomplishing eternal redemption," ix. 12.

Such is the suspended connexion here, even if we adopt that method of interpretation which will make it as close as possible. But an attentive consideration of the whole preceding context, will perhaps render it probable to the

attentive reader, that Heb. ix. 11. may be the antithesis of the latter part of viii. 4, and first part of viii. 5; where the *ὑπόδειγμα* and *σκιά τῶν ἐπουρανίων*, are in contrast with the *μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν* and the *μεῖζονος καὶ τελειοτέρας σκηνῆς, ὅς χειροποιήτου*, of ix. 11.

How much such suspensions resemble the manner of Paul, need not be again insisted on. Instances of this nature might easily be increased; but no attentive critical reader can help observing them, as they abound in the epistle to the Hebrews.

The instances above produced may serve to show, that, as to *form* and *method*, in regard either to general arrangement, or the deducing of arguments from the Old Testament, or the exhibition of a peculiar manner in the statement of these arguments, there is a striking similarity between the acknowledged writings of Paul and the epistle to the Hebrews.

To the method of argument which I have thus far employed, in order to show the probability that Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews, some objections have been, and may be raised.

It may be asked, 'Did not Paul's hearers, disciples, and intimate friends, who travelled with him, daily conversed with him, and for years heard his instructions, cherish the same views of doctrine that he did? And in writing the epistle to the Hebrews, might not an attentive hearer of Paul, and a reader of his epistles, exhibit the same sentiments? And further; if the same general manner, in which the contents of his epistles are arranged, or the contents of some of them, be found in the epistle to the Hebrews; or if the particular manner in which he quotes or employs passages of the Jewish Scriptures, or interprets

them; or if even his method of stating arguments, and employing imperfect syllogisms or sentences, be found in this epistle; still, may not some favourite disciple of his, some devoted follower and successful imitator of his manner, be naturally supposed to have derived all this from hearing him and reading his letters? And how, then, can arguments of this nature *prove*, that Paul wrote the epistle in question?

Prove it, in the way of demonstration, they certainly cannot; nor is this the purpose for which they are adduced. But of this, more hereafter. At present, I merely observe, that the force of these objections is very much diminished, if in comparing the epistle to the Hebrews with the writings of Paul, it shall appear, that not the strain of sentiment only; not merely the general arrangement of the contents of the epistle, or the particular manner of it in respect to various ways of reasoning, or constructing syllogisms and sentences; but even the *idiomatical* and *distinctive style* and *diction* itself of Paul abound in it. These, none but a writer that was a mere copyist or plagiarist could exhibit. But such a writer is one of the last men, who can be justly suspected of having composed an epistle, like that to the Hebrews.

These suggestions naturally lead us, in the next place, to a comparison, in respect to *phraseology* and *words*, between the acknowledged writings of Paul, and the epistle to the Hebrews.

§ 23. *Comparison of the phraseology and diction of the epistle to the Hebrews, and the acknowledged epistles of Paul.*

1. The similarity of phraseology and diction, where the same words, or synonymous ones, are employed; or where the shade of thought or representation is peculiar and homogeneous, although the language may be somewhat diverse.

Heb. i. 2. Δι' οὗ [Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας [Θεός] ἐποίησε.
Eph. iii. 9. Τῷ [Θεῷ] τὰ πάντα κτίσαντι διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Heb. i. 3. Ὃς ὡν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ.

Col. i. 15. Ὃς ἐστὶν εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου.

Phil. ii. 6. Ὃς ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων.

2 Cor. iv. 4. Ὃς ἐστὶν εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Heb. i. 3. Φέρων τε τὰ πάντα τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ.

Col. i. 17. Τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκε.

Heb. i. 5. Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.

Acts xiii. 33. Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε; used here by Paul, and applied in both passages (but no where else in the New Testament,) to Christ.

Heb. i. 4. Τοσούτῳ κρείττων γενόμενος τῶν ἀγγέλων, ὅσῳ διαφωρότερον παρ' αὐτοὺς κεκληρονόμηκεν ὄνομα.

Eph. i. 21. Ὑπεράνω παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι.

Phil. ii. 9. Ὁ Θεός ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων, κ. τ. λ.

Heb. i. 6. Τὸν πρωτότοκον

Rom. viii. 29. Εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν τὸν πρωτότοκον.

Col. i. 15. Πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως. V. 18. Πρωτότοκος. This appellation is applied to Christ no where else, excepting in Rev. i. 5.

Heb. ii. 2. Ὁ δι' ἀγγέλων λαληθεὶς λόγος.

Gal. iii. 19. Ὁ νόμος . . . διαταγὴς δι' ἀγγέλων. Comp. Acts vii. 33.

Here is the same sentiment; λόγος and νόμος being synonyms; as, for substance, λαληθεῖς and διαταγὴς are. However, Stephen once uses a similar expression, Acts vii. 53.

Heb. ii. 4. Σημεῖοις τε καὶ τέρασιν, καὶ ποικίλαις δυνάμεσιν, καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου μερισμοῖς.

1 Cor. xii. 4. Διαιρέσεις δὲ χαρισμάτων εἰσὶν, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα.

1 Cor. xii. 11. Πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐνέργει τὸ ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα, διαιοῦν ἰδίᾳ ἐκάστῳ καθὼς βούλεται.

Rom. xii. 6. Ἐχόντες δὲ χαρίσματα κατὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν διάφορα . . . all spoken of the miraculous gifts of the Holy Spirit, and characterized by the same shade of thought, viz. the various or different gifts of this nature, distributed by him.

Heb. ii. 8. Πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ.

1 Cor. xv. 27. Πάντα γὰρ ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.

Eph. i. 22. Καὶ πάντα ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.

Phil. iii. 21. Ὑποτάξει παντὶ τὰ πάντα. . . . phraseology applied to designate the sovereignty conferred upon Christ, and found only in Paul and in our epistle.

Heb. ii. 10. Δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα.

Rom. xi. 36. Ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα.

Col. i. 16. Τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτόν.

1 Cor. viii. 6. Εἰς Θεὸς . . . ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ εἰς Κέριος . . . δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα . . . a method of expression, employed to designate God as the author of all things, and also the lord and possessor of them, which is appropriate to Paul, and to our epistle.

Heb. ii. 14. Ἴνα . . . καταργήσῃ τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου, ὅτι τὸν διάβολον.

2 Tim. i. 10. Καταργήσας μὲν τὸν θάνατον. Καταργέω, employed in the sense of *abolishing*, *rendering null*, is exclusively Pauline. No other writer of the New Testament employs it at all, except Luke; and he but once, and then in quite a different sense from that attached to it by Paul, Luke xiii. 7.

Heb. ii. 16. Σπέρματος Ἀβραάμ, to designate Christians.

Gal. iii. 29. Εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ, ἅρα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ σπέρμα ἐστέ.

Gal. iii. 7. Οἱ ἐκ πίστεως, οὗτοι εἰσιν υἱοὶ Ἀβραάμ.

Rom. iv. 16. Ἀβραάμ, ὅς ἐστι πατὴρ πάντων ἡμῶν.

The appellation, *seed or sons of Abraham*, applied to designate Christians, is found only in Paul and in our epistle.

Heb. iii. 1. Κλήσεως ἐπουρανίου.

Phil. iii. 14. Τῆς ἀνω κλήσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Rom. xi. 29. Ἡ κλῆσις τοῦ Θεοῦ. The phrase *heavenly or divine calling*, applied to designate the proffered mercies of the gospel, is limited to Paul and to our epistle.

Heb. iv. 12. Ζῶν γὰρ ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ . . . καὶ τομῶτερας ἡπὲρ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν διστομον.

Eph. vi. 17. Τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ πνεύματος, ὃ ἐστι ῥῆμα Θεοῦ. The comparison of the word of God to a sword, is found only in Paul and in our epistle.

Heb. v. 8. Καίπερ ὧν υἱὸς, ἔμαθεν ἁφ' ὧν ἔπαθε τὴν ὑπακοήν.

Phil. ii. 8. Ἐταπεινώσεν ἑαυτὸν, γενόμενος ὑπήκοος, μέχρι θανάτου. The idea of *obedience in the humiliation and sufferings* of Christ, constitutes the speciality and the similitude of these two passages.

Heb. v. 13. Νήπιος γὰρ ἐστι, i. e. *a child in religion, comparatively ignorant, uninformed.*

1 Cor. iii. 1. Ὡς νηπίος ἐν Χριστῷ, in the same sense.

Eph. iv. 14. Ἵνα μηκέτι ὦμεν νήπιοι, in the same.

Rom. ii. 20. Διδάσκαλον νηπίων, in the same.

Gal. iv. 3. Ὅτε ἡμεν νήπιοι, in the same. This phraseology is limited to Paul and to our epistle.

Heb. v. 14. Τελείων δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ στερεὰ τροφή.

1 Cor. xiv. 20. Ταῖς δὲ φρεσὶ τέλειαι γίνεσθε. The word *τέλειαι* is here the antithesis of *νήπιοι*, and means *well instructed, mature*. In this sense, it is employed only in Paul and in our epistle.

Heb. vi. 1. Τελειότηα, an *advanced, mature state*, i. e. of Christian knowledge.

Col. iii. 14. *Σύνδεσμος τῆς τελειότητος, the bond or cement of a matured Christian state.* The word *τελειότης*, in such a sense, is limited to Paul and to our epistle.

Heb. vi. 9. *Ἐάνπερ ἐπιτρέπη ὁ Θεός.*

1 Cor. xvi. 7. *Ἐάν ὁ Κύριος ἐπιτρέπη. . . .* a phrase nowhere else employed.

Heb. vi. 10. *Τῆς ἀγάπης ἧς ἐνεδείξασθε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, διακονήσαντες τοῖς ἀγίοις καὶ διακονοῦντες,*

2 Cor. viii. 24. *Τὴν οὖν ἐνδείξιν τῆς ἀγάπης ὑμῶν . . . εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνδείξασθε.* The similarity consists in employing *ἐνδείξασθαι τὴν ἀγάπην* in both cases, constructed with *εἰς* before the object that follows.

Heb. viii. 5. *Οἵτινες ὑποδείγματι καὶ σκιᾷ λατρεύουσι τῶν ἐπουρανίων.*

Heb. x. 1. *Σκιὰν γὰρ ἔχων ὁ νόμος τῶν μελλόντων.*

Col. ii. 17. *Ἄ ἐστι σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων . . .* language respecting the figurative nature of the Jewish dispensation, which is appropriate to Paul and to our epistle.

Heb. viii. 6. *Κρείττωνός ἐστι διαθήκης μεσίτης.*

1 Tim. ii. 5. *Εἷς μεσίτης . . . Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς.*

Gal. iii. 19, 20. *Ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου. Ὁ δὲ μεσίτης ἐνὸς οὐκ ἔστι.*

The word *mediator*, applied to designate Christ, or Moses, is appropriate to Paul and to our epistle.

Heb. viii. 10. *Καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς εἰς θεὸν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονται μοι εἰς λαόν.*

2 Cor. vi. 16. *Καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτῶν θεός, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονται μοι λαός.*

Both passages are quoted from the Old Testament. The resemblance consists, in the quotation and application of the same passage in both places, and in the same manner.

Heb. viii. 10. *Καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν ἐπιγράψω αὐτούς.*

Rom. ii. 15. *Τὸ ἔργον τοῦ νόμου γραπτὸν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν.*

2 Cor. iii. 3. *Ἐγγεγραμμένη . . . ἐν πλατῇ καρδίας σαρκίνας.*

The passage in Hebrews is a quotation. But the other passages

serve to show, that such a phraseology was familiar to Paul, and that he probably derived it from the Old Testament passage, quoted in Heb. viii. 10.

Heb. ix. 15. Θανάτου γενομένου εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διαθήκῃ παραβάσεων.

Rom. iii. 25. Διὰ τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως . . . εἰς ἐνδειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ, διὰ τὴν πάρεσιν τῶν προγεγονότων ἁμαρτημάτων.

In these two passages the peculiar idea is expressed, that the efficacy of Christ's atoning blood extends back to past ages; an idea no where else brought to view in the same manner.

Heb. x. 19. Ἐχοντες . . . παρρησίαν εἰς τὴν εἰσοδὸν τῶν ἁγίων ἐν τῷ αἵματι Ἰησοῦ.

Rom. v. 2. Δι' οὗ τὴν προσαγωγὴν ἐσχίκαμεν τῇ πίστει εἰς τὴν χάριν ταύτην.

Eph. ii. 18. Δι' αὐτοῦ ἔχομεν τὴν προσαγωγὴν . . . πρὸς τὸν πατέρα.

Eph. iii. 12. Ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ τὴν προσαγωγὴν ἐν πεποιθήσει.

The idea of *access* to God, or *παρρησία*, *bold, free access, or liberty of address*, is designated in this manner only by Paul and in our epistle.

Heb. x. 28. Ἐπὶ δούλῳ ἢ τρισὶ μάρτυσιν ἀποθνήσκει.

2 Cor. xiii. 1. Ἐπὶ στόματος δύο μαρτύρων καὶ τριῶν σταθήσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα.

1 Tim. v. 19. Ἐπὶ δύο ἢ τριῶν μαρτύρων. Such an expression is found elsewhere, only in the words of Christ, Matt. xviii. 16.

Heb. x. 30. Ἐμοὶ ἐδίκησας, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω.

Rom. xii. 19. Ἐμοὶ ἐδίκησας, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω.

The similarity consists in quoting the same passage, and applying it to show that punishment is the awful prerogative of the Deity, and that he will inflict it.

Heb. x. 32. Ἀθλήσιν . . . τῶν παθημάτων.

Phil. i. 30. Τὸν αὐτὸν ἀγῶνα ἔχοντες, οἷον εἶδετε ἐν ἐμοί.

Col. ii. 1. Ἐδύκον ἀγῶνα ἔχω περὶ ὑμῶν.

1 Thess. ii. 2. Λαλῆσαι . . . τὸ εὐαγγέλιον . . . ἐν πολλῷ ἀγῶνι.

The phrase *contest*, in respect to afflictions, is peculiar to Paul and to our epistle.

Heb. x. 33. Ὀνειδισμοῖς τε καὶ θλίψεσι θεατριζόμενοι.

1 Cor. iv. 9. Θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν τῷ κόσμῳ, κ. τ. λ. . . . language peculiar to Paul and to our epistle.

Heb. x. 33. Κοινωνοὶ τῶν οὕτως ἀναστρεφόμενων γενηθέντες, *participating*, i. e. *sympathising* with the afflicted.

Phil. iv. 14. Συγκοινωνήσαντές μου τῇ θλίψει, *sympathising in my affliction*. The same figurative expression stands in both passages.

Heb. x. 38. Ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται.

Rom. i. 17. Ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται.

Gal. iii. 11. Ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται.

The passage is a quotation. But the application and use of it, appear to be exclusively Pauline.

Heb. xii. 1. Τρέχουμεν τὸν προκείμενον ἡμῖν ἀγῶνα.

1 Cor. ix. 24. Οὕτω τρέχετε ἵνα καταλάβητε.

Phil. iii. 14. Τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθανόμενος, τοῖς δὲ ἐμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος, κατὰ σκοπὸν διώκω.

The resemblance here is, that Christian efforts are, in each passage, compared to *a race*; a comparison found only in Paul and in our epistle.

Heb. xiii. 18. Πεποιθामεν γάρ, ὅτι καλὴν συνειδήσιν ἔχομεν.

Acts xxiii. 1. Paul says, Ἐγὼ πάσῃ συνειδήσει ἀγαθῇ πεπολίτευμαι. . . . a manner of speaking found no where else.

Heb. xiii. 20. Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης.

Rom. xv. 33. Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης. Also in Rom. xvi. 20. 1 Cor. xiv. 33. 2 Cor. xiii. 11. Phil. iv. 9. 1 Thess. v. 23. An expression used by no other writer of the New Testament.

Heb. xiii. 18. Προσεύχεσθε περὶ ἡμῶν.

1 Thess. v. 25. Προσεύχεσθε περὶ ἡμῶν.

Natural as this may appear, at the close of a letter, it is peculiar to Paul and to our epistle.

To the instances of phraseology thus collected, may be added the greeting and benediction at the close of the epistle to the Hebrews, which is altogether Pauline.

II. Words which are found, among the New Testament writers, only in Paul and in our epistle; or, if found elsewhere, are used in a sense different from that in which they are here employed.

- Ἄγων, in the sense of *Christian effort*, either in performing duties, or bearing trials, Heb. xii. 1. 1 Tim. vi. 12. 2 Tim. iv. 7.
- Ἀδελφοί, *brethren of Christ*, considered in respect to his human nature, Heb. ii. 12, 17. Rom. viii. 29.
- Ἀδόκιμος, *inept, unfit*, Heb. vi. 8. Tit. i. 16.
- Ἀιδώς, *reverence, modesty*, Heb. xii. 28. 1 Tim. ii. 9.
- Αἰρέομαι, *to choose*, Heb. xi. 25. 2 Thess. ii. 13. Phil. i. 22.
- Ἄκακος, *innocent*, Heb. vii. 26. Rom. xvi. 18.
- Ἀσθένεια, *sin, sinful infirmity*, Heb. v. 2. Rom. v. 6.
- Διαθήκη, *will, testament*, Heb. ix. 16. Gal. iii. 15. It is doubtful, however, whether διαθήκη has the sense of *testament*, in the latter passage.
- Ἐλπίς προκεκειμένη, *proffered Christian happiness*, Heb. vi. 18. Col. i. 5.
- Ἐκλύω, *to be despondent*, Heb. xii. 3. Gal. vi. 9.
- Ἐνδυναμόω, *to give strength; (passively) to receive strength*, Heb. xi. 34. 2 Tim. iv. 17. 1 Tim. i. 12.
- Καταργεῖν, *to annul, abolish, abrogate*, Heb. ii. 14. Rom. iii. 3, 31. vi. 6. 1 Cor. i. 28. Gal. v. 11. and elsewhere often in Paul's epistles.
- Καύχημα, *glorying, rejoicing*, Heb. iii. 6. Rom. iv. 2. 1 Cor. ix. 15.
- Κληρονόμος, *lord, possessor*, applied to Christ, Heb. i. 2. Rom. viii. 17.
- Λατρεύειν (δουλεύειν, a synonyme,) Θεῷ ζῶντι, Heb. ix. 14. 1 Thess. i. 9.
- Μή (οὐ) βλεπόμενα, *the invisible objects of the future world*, Heb. xi. 1. 2 Cor. iv. 18.

Ὁμολογία, *religion, religious, or Christian profession*, Heb. iii.

1. iv. 14. x. 23. 2 Cor. ix. 13.

Ὄνομα, *majesty, or dignity*, Heb. i. 4. Phil. ii. 9, 10. Eph. i. 21. But although this sense of ὄνομα in Heb. i. 4, is adopted by some eminent critics, still it is more probable that it has the sense of *appellation*; see Heb. i. 5 seq.

Οὐ κτίσις, *nothing*, Heb. iv. 13. Rom. viii. 39.

Τελειώω, *to consummate in happiness, to bestow the reward consequent on finishing a victorious course*, Heb. ii. 10. vii. 28. x. 14. Phil. iii. 12.

Ὑπόστασις, *confidence*, Heb. iii. 14. ii. 1. 2 Cor. ix. 4. xi. 17.

Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐπουράνιος, *the abode of the blessed*, Heb. xii. 22; comp. Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἄνω, Gal. iv. 26, in the like sense.

III. Peculiarity of grammatical construction, in regard to the use of the passive verb, instead of the active.

Thus in Heb. vii. 11, we find the phrase, ὁ λαὸς γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῇ νενομοθέτητο, *for the people under it [the Levitical priesthood] received the law*; where the nominative case of the person who is the *object* (not the *subject*) in the sentence, is joined with the passive of the verb; and this mode of construction is employed, instead of the *active* voice of the same verb, followed by the *dative* of the person who is the *object*; e. g. νενομοθέτητο λαῷ.

The like construction is found in Paul's acknowledged writings. E. g. Rom. iii. 2, οἱ [αὐτοὶ] ἐπιστεύθησαν τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ, *they were intrusted with the oracles of God*, instead of saying, *the oracles of God were intrusted to them*. Rom. vi. 17—εἰς ὃν παρεδόθητε τύπον διδαχῆς, *into which model of doctrine ye have been delivered*, instead of, *which form or model of doctrine was delivered to you*. 1 Tim. i. 11, ὃ ἐπιστεύθην ἐγὼ, *with which I was intrusted*, instead of, *which was intrusted to me*, ὃ ἐπιστεύθη μοι.

This is a minuteness of grammatical construction, which a copyist of Paul would not be likely either to notice or to imitate. It affords, therefore, the more striking evidence, that all proceeded from the same hand.

Finally, Paul frequently employs an adjective of the neuter gender, in order to designate *generic quality*, instead of using a synonymous noun; e. g. τὸ γνωστὸν, Rom. i. 19; τὸ χρηστὸν, Rom. ii. 4; τὸ δυνατὸν, Rom. ix. 22; τὸ ἀδύνατον, Rom. vii. 3; τὸ ἀσθενές, 1 Cor. i. 25. Compare τὸ ἀμεράβετον, Heb. vi. 17; τὸ πανταζόμενον, Heb. xii. 21; τὸ κωλόν, xii. 13.

§ 24. *Remarks on the comparisons made in the preceding sections.*

In the first place, without any hesitation, I concede thus much to those critics, who make light of the evidence drawn from such a comparison as has now been made, viz. that no evidence of this nature can ever afford what is equivalent to a *demonstration* of the fact, for the support of which it is adduced. But then, *demonstration* is what such a case neither admits nor demands. If the writer's name were affixed to the epistle, it would not amount to proof of this kind; for might it not have been put there by another person, in order to answer some designs of his own? Nay, unless witnesses have given us testimony, who themselves saw Paul write the epistle, the proof is not of the highest kind that is *possible*; nor even then would their testimony establish the fact, unless we could be well assured of their credibility. By such a criterion, however, the genuineness of no writing, ancient or modern, can be examined. It is *generally* enough for us, that an author's name is affixed to a writing. *Prima facie*, it is evidence that it belongs to him; and it must be regarded as *sufficient* evidence, until it is contradicted either expressly, or by implication.

Let us suppose now, that, after an author has published many pieces, and his style and sentiments have become

well known, he publishes a composition of any kind, without affixing his name to it; can there be no adequate, no *satisfactory* evidence, that it belongs to him?

This is the very question before us. I grant that *similarity*, or even *sameness of sentiment*, in different pieces, does not certainly prove identity of authorship; for the friends, or imitators, or disciples of any distinguished man, may imbibe the same sentiments which he inculcates, and exhibit them in similar words and phrases. I grant that the primitive teachers of Christianity were agreed, and must have been agreed, (supposing that they were under divine guidance,) as to the fundamental doctrines of the gospel. But in respect to the *mode of representing* them; in regard to the style, and diction, and urgency with which particular views of doctrine are insisted on; what can be more various and diverse than the epistles of Paul, and James, and Peter, and John?

The reply to this, by critics who entertain sentiments different from those which I have espoused, is, that 'the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews was an intimate friend, or a studious imitator of Paul; a man of talents, who with unqualified admiration of the apostle's sentiments, mode of reasoning, and even choice of words, closely imitated him in all these particulars. Hence the similarity between the writings of Paul and the epistle to the Hebrews.'

The *possibility* of this cannot be denied. Designed imitation has, in a few instances, been so successful as to deceive, at least for a while, the most sharp-sighted critics. Witness the imitation of Shakspeare which a few years ago was palmed upon the English public, as the work of that distinguished poet himself. Witness also the well-known and long controverted fact, in respect to the pieces ascribed to Ossian, which are now known to be a forgery.

But after all, such attempts have very *seldom* been successful, even where the most strenuous efforts have been made at close imitation; and these, with all the advantages which a modern education could afford. How few, for example, of the multitudes, who have aimed at copying the style of Addison or Johnson, with the greatest degree of exactness, have succeeded even in any tolerable measure; and none in such a way, that they are not easily distinguished from the models which they designed to imitate.

Just so it was, in the primitive age of the church. The Christian world was filled with gospels and epistles, ascribed to Paul, and Peter, and other apostles and disciples. Yet no one of these succeeded in gaining any considerable credit among the churches; and what little was ever gained by any of them, proved to be temporary, and of very small influence. This was not owing to want of exertion; for strenuous efforts were made by writers to imitate the apostolic manner of writing, so as to gain credit for their supposititious pieces. But all of them failed. Indeed, nothing can be more egregious, or striking, than the failure. A comparison of any of the *apocryphal* writings of the New Testament, with the *genuine* writings of the same, shows a difference heaven-wide between them, which the most undistinguishing intellect can hardly fail to discern.

If then the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews was an imitator, a designed and close imitator, of the apostle Paul, he has succeeded, in such a way as no other writer of those times or any succeeding ones ever did. He has produced a composition, the sentiments of which in their shade, and colouring, and proportion, (so far as his *subjects* are common with those in the acknowledged epistles of Paul,) are altogether Pauline. Nay, he has preserved not only the

order of writing which Paul adopts, but his mode of reasoning, his phraseology, and even his choice of peculiar words, or words used in a sense peculiar to the apostle. The imitation goes so far, it extends to so many particulars, important and unimportant, that, if our epistle was not written by Paul, it must have been an imitation of him which was the effect of settled design, and was accomplished only by the most strenuous effort.

But here, while I acknowledge the *possibility* of such an imitation, I must from thorough conviction say, that the *probability* of it does seem to be very small. With Origen, I must, after often repeated study of this epistle, say, *The sentiments are wonderful, and in no way behind those of the acknowledged writings of the apostles*: τὰ νοήματα τῆς ἐπιστολῆς θαυμάσιά ἐστι, καὶ οὐ δευτέρα τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ὁμολογουμένων γραμμάτων, Euseb. Hist. Ecc. vi. 25. I cannot find any higher intensity of mind; any more exalted conceptions of the true nature of Christianity, as a *spiritual* religion; any higher views of God and Christ, or of the Christian's privileges and his obligations to believe in, love, and obey the Saviour; any more noble excitements to pursue the Christian course, unawed by the threats and unallured by the temptations of the world; or any so awful representations of the fearful consequences of unbelief and of defection from Christianity. The man, who wrote this epistle, has no marks of a plagiarist, or of an imitator, about him. Nothing can be more free and original than his thoughts, reasonings, and mode of expressing them. It is most evident, that they flow directly and warm from the heart. They are "thoughts that breathe, and words that burn." Where, in all the ancient world, did ever a plagiarist or an imitator write in this manner? A man who could form such conceptions in his mind, who could reason, and ex-

hort in such an impressive and awful manner; has he any need of imitating—even Paul himself? No; it may be said of him, (what Paul on another occasion said of himself in comparison with his brethren), that “he was not a whit behind the very chiefest of the apostles.”

Then how could such a man be concealed, in the first ages of the church, when the memory of those who were very distinguished has been preserved so distinct, and with so much care and reverence, by ecclesiastical tradition? Men, who can write in this manner, cannot remain concealed any where. And the writer of such an epistle, it would seem, must have acted a part not less conspicuous than that of the great apostle of the Gentiles himself.

But antiquity, we are told, has attributed this epistle to distinguished men in the early church; to Clement of Rome, to Luke, or to Barnabas; each of whom is known to have been the warm friend and admirer of Paul.

I know this has been often alleged. But, fortunately, there are extant writings of each of these persons, with which our epistle may be compared; and which serve to show how little foundation there is for such an opinion. But of this more hereafter. I merely say, at present, that the great body of critics, for some time past, have agreed in rejecting the opinion, which ascribes our epistle to either of the authors just mentioned.

Who then did write it, if Paul did not? And what is to be gained, by endeavouring to show the *possibility* that some other person wrote it, when so many circumstances unite in favour of the general voice of the primitive ages, that this apostle was the author? That the church, during the first century after the apostolic age, ascribed it to some one of the apostles, is clear from the fact, that it was inserted among the canonical books of the churches in the

East and the West; that it was comprised in the *Peshito*; in the old Latin version; and was certainly admitted by the Alexandrine and Palestine churches. Now what apostle did write it, if Paul did not? Surely neither John, nor Peter, nor James, nor Jude. The difference of style is too striking, between their letters and this, to admit of such a supposition. But what other apostle, except Paul, was ever distinguished in the ancient church as a writer? None; and the conclusion, therefore, seems to be altogether a probable one, that he was the writer. Why should all the circumstances which speak for him, be construed as relating to some unknown writer? Are the sentiments unworthy of him? Are they opposed to what he has inculcated? Do they differ from what he has taught? Neither. Why not then admit the *probability* that he was the author? Nay, why not admit that the probability is as great as the nature of the case (the epistle being anonymous,) could be expected to afford? Why should there be any more objection to Paul as the author of this epistle, than to any other man?

My own conviction, if I may be permitted to express it, is as clear in respect to this point, as from its nature I could expect it to be. I began the examination of the subject unbiassed, if I was ever unbiassed in the examination of any question; and the evidence before me has led me to such a *result*.

But the arguments, which are urged against the opinion that I have now endeavoured to defend remain to be examined. They must not be passed over in silence; nor any of them be kept out of sight, to which importance can reasonably be attached.

§ 25. *Objections.*

The objections made to the opinion, that Paul was the author of our epistle, are numerous. All the hints which ancient writers have given, by way of objection, have been brought forward, of late, and urged with great zeal and ability. Arguments internal and external, of every kind, have been insisted on. Indeed, the attack upon the Pauline origin of our epistle has been so warmly and powerfully made, by the last and present generation of critics on the continent of Europe, that most who are engaged in the study of sacred literature, seem inclined to think that the contest is over, and that victory has been won. So much, at least, must be conceded, viz. that those who admit the Pauline origin of this epistle, must make more strenuous efforts than they have yet made, in order to defend their opinion, and to satisfy objectors. To do this, is indeed a most laborious, and in many cases exceedingly repulsive task; for of such a nature are many of the objections, thrown out at random, and asserted with confidence, that an attack which cost but a few moments' effort on the part of the assailant, costs days and weeks of labour, on the part of him who makes the defence.

The question, however, is too important to be slightly treated. Nor will it suffice for those who defend the Pauline origin of our epistle, merely to select a few specimens of argument on the part of their opponents, and, showing the insufficiency or inaccuracy of these, make their appeal to the reader's sympathies, assuring him, that the rest of the arguments employed by their opponents are of a similar nature. There are readers, (and such are the men

whose opinion on subjects of this nature is most to be valued,) who will not be satisfied with cursory, hasty, half-performed examination; and who, when you show them that one or more of an opponent's arguments is unsound, will not believe it to follow, of course, that all of them must be so. Above all, one must expect, that many doubters of the genuineness of our epistle, will not be satisfied with having only one side of the question presented. It is reasonable that they should not; and if the objections, which have weight in their minds, cannot be as satisfactorily answered, as from the nature of the case might be justly expected, then let them have so much weight as is properly due to them.

It is but fair to warn the reader, that in entering on this part of our subject, his patience will be tried, by the length and minuteness of the examination. Perhaps those only, who fully know the present state of critical effort and opinion with respect to the literature of our epistle, will be able to find an adequate apology for such particularity as the sequel exhibits. But such probably will feel, that the time has come, when objections must either be *fully* and *fairly* met, or those who defend the Pauline origin of our epistle must consent to give up their opinion, if they would preserve the character of candour. The present leaning of criticism is strongly against this origin; and it is high time that the subject should receive an ample discussion.

Whether the question at issue has been deeply, fundamentally, and patiently examined, by the principal writers who have given a tone to the present voice of critics, I will not venture either to affirm or to deny. I shall leave it to the reader, when he shall have gone through with an examination of these writers, to speak his own feelings.

§ 26. *Objections by Bertholdt considered.*

Bertholdt has collected and embodied all the objections made by previous writers, which are worthy of particular consideration, in his Introduction to the books of the Old and New Testament. To these he has added some, which apparently were originated by himself. I shall briefly state his objections; subjoining to each, as I proceed, such remarks as the nature of the case may seem to demand.

(1.) 'It is a suspicious circumstance, and against the opinion that Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews, that he has not subscribed his name; since he says in 2 Thess. iii. 17, that it was his practice to do this in order to show that letters, purporting to be his, might thus be certainly known as being genuine.'

The reply to this is obvious. After Paul had written his first epistle to the Thessalonian church, in which he had mentioned the *second coming* of Christ, it appears that some one had written another letter, counterfeiting his name, in which *the day of the Lord* had been represented as *very near*. On this account, Paul says, in his second letter to the same church, "Be not agitated by any message, or by any epistle as from me, in respect to the day of the Lord, as being already at hand," ii. 2. And then, to avoid the effects of any misrepresentation of this nature, for the future, he says at the close of the letter, iii. 17, "This salutation from me, Paul, by my own hand. This is the proof [viz. of the genuineness of my letter], in every epistle [i. e. to your church]; so I write."

Let it now be noted, that the epistles to the Thessalonians were the first, in regard to time, which Paul wrote to any church; at least, the first that are now extant.

Under circumstances like these, when letters to the Thesalonians had been forged in his name, can the assurance that he subscribes all his letters to them with his own hand, be taken as a proof, that, in all his future life, he should never address an *anonymous* letter to any church, in any circumstances?

(2.) 'No good reason can be given why Paul should conceal his name. Does he not intimate, at the close of the letter, that he is yet in prison, but expects soon to be set at liberty? Does he not ask their prayers that he may be speedily restored? And does he not promise them a visit, in company with Timothy, if his return be speedy? Why should Paul attempt to conceal himself, when he has developed circumstances which evidently imply that he was not concealed, and that he did not desire to be so?'

But if this objection be of any validity, it is just as valid in respect to any other person, as to the writer of this letter. Why should any other writer attempt to conceal himself, when most clearly the tenor of the letter implies, that he must be known to those whom he immediately addresses? If there be any incongruity here, it applies just as much to any other writer, as to Paul.

But is there no good reason imaginable, why Paul should have withheld his name? If he designed the epistle to be a *circular* among the Jews generally, (which from the nature of the discussion, comprising topics so interesting to them all, I am altogether inclined to believe was the case,) then might he not, as a measure of prudence, omit prefixing or subscribing his name directly, lest the prejudices of those Christians who were zealots for the law might be excited, on the *first* inspection of his epistle? *Ultimately*, he might be, and must be known, if the letter was traced back to the church to whom it was first sent, and the

inquiries made respecting it, which the circumstances mentioned at the close of it would naturally suggest. To this the writer would probably feel no objection; trusting that the arguments suggested in it might disarm prejudiced readers, before they came to the certain knowledge of the author. Is it an unknown, unheard-of case, that men should write letters, anonymously at first, but afterwards avow them? Or that they should write letters anonymous, but so circumstanced, and designedly so circumstanced, that inquiry might ultimately lead to a knowledge of the author?

Granting, however, that neither the reason of Clement of Alexandria, nor of Eusebius, nor of Jerome, nor the reason now given, for the apostle's withholding his name, is satisfactory; still is there no possibility that an adequate reason may have existed, for the letter being sent without the subscription of the writer's name, of which reason we are ignorant? Let it be whoever it may, that wrote the letter, does not the same difficulty, in every case, attend the explanation of its being *anonymous*? I can see no difference; unless we assume the position, that the writer meant it should be attributed to an apostle, and therefore concealed his own name. Such a writer, we cannot with any probability suppose the author of our epistle to have been. All—all is sincerity, fervent benevolence, ingenuous and open-hearted dealing, throughout the whole.

Besides, is the case in hand one that has no parallel? Certainly not. The first epistle of John is altogether destitute of the author's name, or of any internal marks that will lead us to know him, except what are contained in the style itself. Why should it be more wonderful, that *Paul* should write an anonymous letter, than that *John* should do it?

(3.) 'The Jews of Palestine had a great antipathy to Paul, and always persecuted him, when he came among them. How can it be supposed, that he should have addressed to them a letter, with the expectation that it would be read and regarded by them?'

That some of the zealots for the law, in Judea, were strongly opposed to Paul, is sufficiently evident from the history of his visits to Jerusalem. But, that the apostles and teachers there were his warm and decided friends, is equally evident, from the same source. Moreover, that there were private Christians there, who cherished a very friendly feeling toward him, is evident from Acts xxi. 17, where, on his last visit there, *the brethren* (οἱ ἀδελφοί) are said to have received him gladly. The persecution, which ensued at this time, was first excited, as the historian expressly states, by Jews from Asia Minor, xxi. 27. But it is unnecessary to dwell on this. At Ptolemais, xxi. 7, and at Cesarea, xxi. 8 seq., he had warm friends; and at the latter place, he abode two whole years as a prisoner, before his removal to Rome. Were there no friends of his, then, in *Palestine*, among whom he could hope to find a listening ear? no Christians, on whom he could hope that his arguments would make an impression? And after all, did he ever cease to speak to the Jews, to admonish them, to dispute with them, in order to vindicate the religion which he had embraced, because they were prejudiced against him? How unlike himself, then, does the objection which we are considering represent Paul to be! He did not *confer with flesh and blood*; he believed that the armour in which he was clad, was "mighty, through God, to the pulling down of strong holds."

(4.) 'But there is internal evidence, from the style of the epistle to the Hebrews, and from circumstances men-

tioned in it, which render it impossible to believe that Paul was the author of it.'

This objection is a very ancient one. It was felt, as we have seen, by Clement of Alexandria; deeper still, by Origen; and adverted to by Eusebius, and other fathers of the church. It would seem, that there must be some real foundation for an objection, so long, so often, and confidently urged. Late critics have attributed an irresistible power to it. Eichhorn and Bertholdt maintain, that it lies so upon the very face of the whole epistle, that every reader must be impressed with it. So strong, indeed, are their impressions with respect to it, that they seem to require no other argument, in order to satisfy them that Paul could not have written the epistle to the Hebrews.

That there are cases, where the general character of the style of one piece, is so plainly different from another, as to leave no doubt on the mind of a discerning reader that both did not, nay even could not, come from the same pen, certainly cannot be called in question. Who could ever attribute the epistles of John, to Paul, or to Peter, or to James? But, that there are other cases, where the characteristic marks are not so discernible, and about which there may be a great difference of feeling in respect to the style, is well known. For example; the book of Deuteronomy is ascribed by one set of critics, of high acquisitions and refined taste, of great acuteness and discriminating judgment, to Moses as the author, because it betrays every where, as they think, the most indubitable marks of his style and spirit. Another class of critics, equally eminent for literary acquisition and discrimination, confidently draw the conclusion, that Moses could not have been the author, from the feeling which they have, on reading it, that it is

composed in a manner totally diverse from the style and spirit of Moses.

Just such is the case, in regard to the speech of Elihu in the book of Job. One party reject it as spurious, because their *critical taste* leads them to do so; and another hold it to be genuine, for the like reason.

Isaiah, too, has met with the same fate. The last 26 chapters are now familiarly called Pseudo-Isaiah, by one party of critics; while another strive to vindicate the whole book as genuine.

Each party is equally confident, and equally satisfied of the validity of their arguments. But what is the humble inquirer to do, in the midst of all these contests of taste and of opinion? How can he trust his *feelings* to decide, with confidence, in a case where the most acute and distinguishing critics differ, in respect to the judgment, that a critical tact should give? He cannot do it with safety. In what way, then, shall one who examines for himself, be able to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion? My answer in all such cases would be, MAKE THE ACTUAL COMPARISON; collate sentiment with sentiment, phrase with phrase, words with words. This is the kind of proof that is *palpable*, and is not left to the uncertain tenor of feeling, excited by mere insulated perusal; a feeling, which in cases where the composition read is in a *foreign* language, must be a very uncertain guide; and which even in our own vernacular language, not unfrequently misleads us.

Origen, as he avers, found, in the epistle to the Hebrews, the *thoughts* of Paul; but the *words*, he thinks, are better Greek (*ἑλληνικώτερα*) than the apostle wrote. He therefore resorts to the supposition, that a translator had given to it its present Greek costume, who had received the *sentiments* from the mouth of Paul. But Eichhorn does not limit the

difference, between the style of this epistle and those of Paul, to the quality of the Greek. "The manner of it," says he, "is more tranquil and logical, than that in which Paul with his strong feelings could write. Every thing is arranged in the most exact order. The expression is well rounded, choice, and very clear in the representation which it makes. Paul is altogether different; he is unperiodical, involved, obscure, writes poor Greek, is given to rhapsody and aphorism," Einl. § 260. Bertholdt has repeated the same sentiment, in almost the same words, in his Introduction to this epistle, § 646.

If I might be allowed to express my own feelings, after having for many years annually devoted myself to the explanation of this epistle, translated it with all the care which I could bestow upon it, and minutely weighed every expression and word in it, I should say, that nothing could be more unfortunately chosen, than the epithet, "*ruhig*," *equable, tranquil, void of excitement*, which these distinguished critics have applied to its style. I appeal to every man's feelings who reads it, and ask, Are there, in the whole book of God, any warnings so awful as here, and expressed with such mighty energy? Are there any threats of punishment for unbelief, so tremendous and impassioned as those in this epistle?

Then, as to 'every thing being arranged in such exact order,' as they aver, 'conclusion following conclusion, all in the manner of a good rhetorician;' the instances above produced, and which might easily be increased, of enthymemes, and suspended construction, exactly in the manner of Paul, may help to judge of this. Moreover, let any one make the attempt to translate this epistle into his own vernacular language, and he will then see whether all is so *well rounded* and *perspicuous*, as these critics represent it

to be. I find ellipsis as frequent here, as in Paul's acknowledged writings. Any good translation, that exhibits the supply of these ellipses, and marks them by the common mode in which they are printed, demonstrates this to the eye. Hebraism I find here, as well and as often as in Paul. In short, I cannot but feel, in reading the epistle to the Hebrews, that the writer has reached the very summit of eloquence, and energy, and vivid representation, in many passages of his composition; and I am constrained to make a similar acknowledgment, in respect to many passages of the known epistles of Paul. I cannot perceive any striking diversity in regard to these characteristics.

To what cause, now, can it be attributed, that feelings so very different, in respect to the character of the style, should arise in the minds of men, when they read the epistle in question? Two reasons for this, I apprehend, may be given. The first and principal one is, that the main topics of this epistle are so diverse from those generally treated of in the acknowledged epistles of Paul, that they required, of course and from necessity, a variety of words, phrases, and ideas, that either are not common, or are not at all to be found in his other epistles. This I regard as chiefly the ground of the judgment, which has so often been passed in respect to *dissimilarity* of style. The other is, that one comes to the reading of this epistle, with his feelings impressed by the circumstance, that there is a want of direct evidence about the author; and consequently so tuned, as to be strongly agitated by any thing, which may seem to increase or diminish the probability that Paul was the author of it. That the doctrinal views, contained in this epistle, have made many willing to get rid of its canonical authority, if it could be done, is not by any means improbable. After all, however, in a question where there is

such a difference of sentiment in regard to style, among those who are capable of judging, the appeal must be made, and can be made, only to *actual comparison*. Such an appeal I have endeavoured to make. To array mere *feeling* or *apprehension*, arising from the perusal of the epistle, against *actual comparison*, can never be to judge by making use of the best means of judging. Origen's authority, in this case, cannot go far with any one who chooses to examine and decide for himself. Origen, with all his talents and learning, was far enough from being a Cicero or a Quintilian, in respect to taste and nice discernment of differences of style. He makes assertions equally confident, in other cases, that will not bear the test of examination; and assertions too, that have respect to the Greek language, his mother tongue. For example, he says that the want of the article before $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, in John i. 1, proves that the writer cannot have meant to designate the *supreme God* by this word. Now whether the supreme God be meant, or not, can never be determined by such a rule; for it is usual, in the Greek language, that the *predicate* of a proposition should be without the article; while the *subject* commonly has it. Moreover, in the very same chapter, $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ stands without the article, in more than one instance, incontrovertibly, for the supreme God; e. g. in vs. 6. 12, 13. 18. Whether Origen's opinion, then, about the style of the epistle to the Hebrews, is well founded or not, is a proper subject of *examination*. The result of comparison has shown, that in respect to sentiment, phraseology, and diction, the epistle is filled with the peculiarities of Paul. I doubt whether any one of Paul's acknowledged epistles, compared with the others, will supply more, or more exact resemblances.

I know, indeed, that no critic can be argued out of

feelings of this sort in respect to style. But he may reasonably be called upon to state the ground of those feelings; specially so, when he asserts, with a confidence which is intended to influence others, that the style of the epistle to the Hebrews cannot be Paul's.

(5.) But Bertholdt has made the appeal to *fact*. He has produced words and expressions which, he says, 'are not Pauline, and which serve satisfactorily to show, that Paul could not have written the epistle to the Hebrews.' I proceed to examine them.

(a.) 'In Hebrews xiii, 7. 17. 24, the word ἡγούμενοι is used for *teachers*; Paul *every where* employs the word διδάσκαλοι for this purpose,' p. 2937.

The allegation, that Paul *every where* uses the word διδάσκαλοι to designate *teachers*, is far from being correct. He uses, besides this, the words πρεσβύτερος, 1 Tim. v. 1. 17. 19. Tit. i. 5; ἐπίσκοπος, Acts xx. 28. Phil. i. 1. 1 Tim. iii. 2. Tit. i. 7; ποιμήν, Eph. iv. 11. Very natural for Paul, it must have been, to apply a variety of appellations to Christian ministers, which would correspond with those applied to religious teachers in the Jewish synagogues. These were פֶּרֶשֶׁט, *pastor, leader, guide, prefect*; מְבָרֵךְ, *leader, guide*; רֹבֵךְ, *ruler, prefect*; and מְדַלֵּךְ, *guide, director*. What could be more natural, then, than for Paul, when writing to Hebrews, to call the teachers in their churches ἡγούμενοι, which corresponds quite well with all of the above appellations, that they had been accustomed to give to their religious teachers? Besides, the argument of Bertholdt, if admitted, would prove too much. The same mode of reasoning must lead us to conclude, that those epistles, in which Christian teachers are called ἐπίσκοποι, cannot be reckoned as Paul's, because διδάσκαλοι is not used instead of ἐπίσκοποι. The same may be said, in respect

to the use of the words ποιμένες and πρεσβύτεροι. The consequence would be, that several of Paul's now acknowledged epistles could not be ascribed to him. But who, that knows the variety of appellations employed to designate teachers in the Jewish synagogues, can attribute any critical weight to the fact, that such a variety of Greek terms is used, corresponding with the Hebrew appellations, that were familiar to those whom our author addressed? And of all these Greek names of pastors, certainly, none better corresponds with the Hebrew ones, than the word ἡγούμενοι, employed in our epistle.

It may be added, too, that Paul employed a term here, not at all *unique*; for the same appellation is given to teachers, in Luke xxii. 26. Acts xiv, 12. xv. 22.

(b) 'In the epistle to the Hebrews, κατέχειν βεβαίαν is used for *holding fast*, Heb. iii. 6. 14; and κατέχειν ἀκλινῇ, in Heb. x. 23; while Paul uses only κατέχειν simply, 1 Cor. xi. 2. xv. 2. 1 Thess. v. 21.'

On examination, I find the verb κατέχω, in the sense of *holding fast, carefully retaining*, to be exclusively *Pauline*. This word, then, affords an argument, to establish a conclusion, the reverse of that for which it is adduced by Bertholdt. The addition of βεβαίαν or ἀκλινῇ is evidently for the purpose merely of *intensity*; just as we may join an adverb to a verb for this purpose, or we may refrain from the use of it, and still employ the same verb simply in the same sense. What could be more natural, now, than for the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews to employ words of intensity, while in the state of strongly excited feeling in which he wrote?

(c) 'In the epistle to the Hebrews, we find εἰς τὸ διηνεκές, vii. 3, and εἰς τὸ παντελές, vii. 25, used to designate the idea of *for ever*; while Paul always uses εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.'

Our author also employs *αἰών*, in the epistle to the Hebrews, no less than nine times in the like way; viz. i. 8. v. 6. vi. 20. vii. 17. 21. 24. 28. xiii. 8. 21. Is it a matter of wonder, then, that he should sometimes employ other words for the same purpose, which were synonymous; specially, if those words belonged both to common and to Hebrew Greek? Such is the fact, in respect to both the words in question. *Διηνεκές* is used by Ælian, Var. Hist. i. 19; by Appian, Bell. Civ. i. p. 682; Heliod. Ethiop. i. p. 25. Lucian, V. H. i. 19; by Symmachus, translator of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, Ps. xlvi. 15. *Παντελής* is used by Ælian, vii. 2. xii. 20; by Josephus, Antiq. vi. 2, 3; and by Luke, xiii. 11.

But whether the sense of the word *παντελής*, in Heb. vii. 25, is *for ever*, may be doubted. Its etymology would lead to the sense of *prorsus, omnino*, i. e. *entirely, altogether, thoroughly*; and so many critics have construed it. Such is clearly the meaning of *παντελῶς*, e. g. Jos. Antiq. iv. 6. 5. 2 Macc. iii. 12. 31. vii. 40; and so Bretschneider construes *εἰς τὸ παντελές*, in Heb. vii. 25, in his recent Lexicon.

But supposing it does mean *for ever*, in the case before us, can the argument, derived from the employment of such synonymes with *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*, as belong to common and to Hebrew Greek, be of any validity to show that Paul could not have written our epistle?

(d) '*Αἰῶνες*, in the sense of *universe*, is used only in the epistle to the Hebrews, i. 2. xi. 3. Paul employs other terms to designate the same idea, such as *τὰ πάντα*, &c.'

Paul, in the phrase *τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν αἰώνων*, 1 Tim. i. 17, has employed the word in the same sense as it is used in the epistle to the Hebrews; and as the use of the word *αἰών*, in such a sense, is limited to Paul and to our epistle, so far as the New Testament is concerned, it would seem to

prove the reverse of what Bertholdt has adduced it to establish.

(e) 'The word *πίστις* is *always* used by Paul, in the *restricted* sense of *πίστις εἰς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν*; in the epistle to the Hebrews, it is employed in a much wider latitude.'

So Bertholdt, p. 2939; and to the same purpose, Eichhorn Einleit. p. 462. This objection has been repeated, greatly magnified, and dwelt upon, by Schulz, *Brief an die Hebräer*. p. 112 seq.; and by Seyffarth, *de Epist. ad Heb. indole*, § 33. These latter writers represent *πίστις*, when used by Paul, as always having reference to Christ or the Christian religion as such; whereas *πίστις*, in our epistle, relates, they aver, only to God or to things future, and means a firm confidence in the declarations of God respecting them; a sense in which, as they think, Paul never employs the word.

I have united the objections and views of these writers under one head, in order to save the repetition of this subject. It deserves an attentive consideration.

There can be no doubt, that Paul, in a multitude of cases, employs *πίστις* to designate belief in Christ as our Saviour and Redeemer. He often employs it to designate that state of mind, which trusts in his propitiatory sacrifice or blood as the means of salvation, in opposition to any trust or confidence in our own merit as the ground of acceptance. But to aver, that the author of our epistle does not disclose similar views in regard to the nature and importance of *faith* or *belief* in Christ, seems to be quite contrary to the whole tenor of the epistle. What is the object of the whole? Plainly to prevent apostacy, i. e. renunciation of belief in Christ. But why is such a renunciation criminal and dangerous? Because Christ is of infinite dignity, and because, when belief in his blood is

renounced, “there remaineth no further sacrifice for sin.” To what purpose is the awful example of the effects of unbelief, proposed in chapter III., except to warn the Hebrews against renouncing belief in Christ? To what purpose are the parallels drawn, in chapters III—X., between Christ and Moses; Christ and Melchisedek; and also between the great High Priest of the Christian religion, and the Jewish priests; between the sacrifice offered by the former, and the sacrifices made by the latter, but for the sake of warning the Hebrews against renouncing their *faith in Christ*? Plainly for no other purpose. All the warnings, reproofs, and tremendous denunciations in the epistle, converge to the same point; they all have a bearing upon the same specific object.

In respect to the allegation, that *faith*, in our epistle, is employed to denote belief or confidence in the declarations of God, specially with regard to the objects of a *future* world; this is true. But it is true, also, that Paul, in his acknowledged epistles, employs it in a similar manner. E. g. in Rom. iv. 17—23, Paul represents Abraham, under the most unpromising circumstances, as believing that God would raise up from him, already *γενεκρωμένον*, a numerous progeny. This belief he represents as an act of faith, *ἐπίστευσε—μὴ ἀσθηήσας τῇ πίστει—οὐ διεκρίθη τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ—πληροφορηθεὶς—ἐλογίσθη τῷ Ἀβραὰμ [ἡ πίστις] εἰς δικαιοσύνην*. On the other hand, our epistle, xi. 8 seq., represents Abraham as going out from his country, and sojourning in a strange land, *πίστει*. By *faith*, also he obtained a son, even when he was *γενεκρωμένος*, xi. 12, from whom a numerous progeny was to spring. Both these accounts characterise this whole transaction in the same way. Both describe the same acts as being *faith*, on the part of Abraham. Both describe his physical state, by calling him *γενεκρωμένον*.

Both treat the whole transaction as a rare instance of the power of faith, and appeal to it as an example most worthy of imitation. Surely here is something different from *discrepancy* of views in these writers. Is there not a *coincidence*, which is altogether striking, both in the manner and language of the epistles?

But there are other circumstances, in the account of Abraham, which deserve distinct notice. Paul, in Rom. iv. 17 seq., represents Abraham as believing the divine assurance, that he should become the father of many nations; the assurance of that God, 'who restoreth the dead to life, and calleth things that are not, into being.' In this expression, the apostle evidently refers to the belief which Abraham entertained, that, in case he offered up Isaac as a sacrifice, God could and would raise him from the dead, or call another son into being, from whom a numerous progeny should descend.

So in Heb. xi. 17 seq., the writer represents Abraham as offering up Isaac, in *faith* that God was able to raise him from the dead, from whence, as it were, he did obtain him, i. e. Isaac sprung from one apparently νεκρωμένος, v. 12. In both cases the writers have characterised the state of Abraham's mind, on this occasion, by representing it as *faith*, πίστις, πίστεως, πίστει. In both, they disclose the same specific views of the point on which the faith of Abraham rested, and they characterise it in the same way.

Is not here a minute coincidence of thought, expression, and manner of representing faith, which creates strong presumption in favour of the opinion, that the writer in both cases was the same person?

Again, in Heb. xi., Noah is represented as being divinely admonished respecting future occurrences, and as preparing an ark for his safety, in consequence of his *faith*

in the admonition which he had received. The writer then proceeds to say, that by this act, he became an heir τῆς κατὰ πίστιν δικαιοσύνης, *of that justification which is by faith*; the very expression, and the very idea, which Paul so often repeats in his acknowledged epistles, viz. those to the Romans and Galatians. What other writer of the New Testament, except Paul, has employed such an expression?

It is true, indeed, that the author of our epistle does represent faith, in Heb. xi., as confidence in the declarations of God respecting future things. But it is equally true, that this was the view of it which he was naturally led to present, from the circumstances of the case before him. His appeal was to the worthies of former days, as examples of *belief*. Belief in what? Not in Christianity surely, which had not then been revealed. Could the writer, when characterising the actual nature of their *faith*, represent it as a belief in that which was *not yet disclosed* to them? Surely not; but he must represent, and does represent it, as a belief in what God *had disclosed* to them. The nature of the case rendered it impossible, that their faith should be represented in any other light than this.

Just so Paul, in Rom. iv., represents the faith of Abraham as *justifying faith*, and appeals to it in proof of the fact, that faith is a means of justification. Yet not a word is said there of Abraham's belief in Christ. In what respect does this case differ from that of all the examples cited in Heb. xi? Rather, is there not a *sameness of principle* in the two instances of faith? Both respect *future* things depending on the promise of God; neither have any special reference to Christ.

The truth is, that *faith*, in its *generic* nature, is *belief or confidence in the promises or revelations of God*. Now

whether these respect things future, things of another world, or things past, or the nature, character, offices, and work of the Messiah, faith receives them all. Faith, therefore, in the ancients, who gave entire credit to what was revealed to them, was the same *principle* as faith in him who believes in Christ, because Christ is proposed to him. Circumstances only make any apparent difference in the case. The *disposition* is always the same.

That Paul thought thus of this subject, is clear enough from the example of Abraham, which he cites as a signal instance of justifying faith, in Rom. iv. But besides this, we have other proof that Paul has not always represented faith as having reference only to Christ, but also represented it, as it commonly appears in our epistle. So 2 Cor. v. 7, *We walk by faith and not by sight*, i. e. we live as those who confide or believe in the realities of a future world, not like those who regard only visible objects. So too, in 1 Cor. xiii. 13. In 1 Thess. i. 8, we have ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν ἡ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν; 1 Cor. xii. 9, πίστις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι. So in 1 Cor. xiii. 2. 2 Cor. iv. 13. Eph. vi. 16. 1 Thess. v. 8, and in many other passages, faith has a variety of meanings, and is not limited to belief in Christ only.

I am unable to see, therefore, why this argument should be so strenuously urged, as it is by Schulz and others, and relied upon as so decisive. I can see no other difference between the *faith* of our epistle, and that which the writings of Paul present, than what the nature of the examples to which our author appealed necessarily requires. When Paul makes a like appeal, he treats the subject in the same way, Rom. iv. And nothing can be farther from correctness, than to aver that Paul always employs πίστις in the sense of *Christianity, believing on Christ*. Merely opening a Greek lexicon or concordance, on the word πίστις, is

ample refutation of this assertion. Paul employs the word, in all the latitude which is elsewhere given it in the New Testament; and that embraces a great variety of specific significations, nearly all of which range themselves under the general idea of *confidence in the divine declarations*.

That it is the great object of our epistle to inculcate belief in Christ, and to warn the Hebrews against unbelief, I suppose will not be denied. What foundation, then, can Schulz have for saying, that "the Pauline idea of belief is altogether foreign to this writer?" Above all, how could he add, "A sentence, like the Pauline one, ὁ οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως, ἀμαρτία ἐστίν, would sound strange enough in the epistle to the Hebrews." Yet strange as it may seem, in Heb. xi. 6. we have, χωρὶς δὲ πίστεως ἀδύνατον εὐαριστήσαι [Θεῷ].

On the whole, the representation of faith, in our epistle, as it respects the case of Abraham and Noah, is not only exactly the same as that of Paul's, but, in the mode of representation, are found such strong resemblances, as to afford no inconsiderable ground for supposing that the writer of both must have been the same person.

(f) 'Σαρκικός, in the sense of *transient, temporary*, is used only in the epistle to the Hebrews.'

But, first, this is a disputed reading. Not to rely on this, however, σαρκικός in the sense of *weak, imperfect*, is common in Paul; a sense substantially the same with the one demanded here. Brétschneider renders it, in Heb. vii. 16; *ad naturam animalem spectans*; which is a *usual* sense, but not admissible here, on account of the antithesis, ζωῆς ἀκατά- λουτου. Let it be, then, an ἀπαξ λεγόμενον as to sense here; are there not such in nearly all of Paul's epistles? E. g. ἔξουσία, 1 Cor. xi. 10, in the sense of *veil*; in 1 Cor. ix. 12; in the sense of *property*; and so of many other words.

(g) 'The phrase οἰκουμένη μέλλουσα Heb. ii. 5, for the

Christian dispensation, is no where found in Paul's acknowledged epistles, in which he always employs αἰὼν μέλλων.'

But are not οἰκουμένη and αἰὼν employed as *synonymes* in the New Testament? Both correspond to the Heb. עוֹלָם. Besides, in Heb. vi. 5, this very phrase, αἰὼν μέλλων, is employed by the writer in the sense of *Christian dispensation*. Must the same writer always employ the very same phraseology, when he has a choice of synonymous words?

Besides, it is not true that Paul uses the phrase αἰὼν μέλλων for the *Christian dispensation*. Once only does he employ it, Eph. i. 21, and then simply in the sense of *future world*.

(h) 'But where is Christ called a *High Priest* and an *Apostle*, except in Heb. iii. 1? It cannot be imagined, that the reverence which the apostles bore to their master, would permit them to call him an *apostle*.'

As to the appellation ἀρχιερεὺς, nothing could be more natural, than for the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews to apply this to Christ. He labours to prove, that Christianity has a preference over Judaism in *all* respects; that, consequently, it has a *High-priest* exalted above the Jewish one. How could the writer avoid calling Christ a High Priest? If Paul has no where done this in his acknowledged epistles, it may be for the obvious reason, that he has no where drawn such a comparison in them.

In respect to ἀπόστολος, Wetstein has shown, on John ix. 7, that one of the names which the Jews applied to their expected Messiah, was מְשִׁיחַ, i. e. *sent, apostle*. Besides, a common name of a prefect of the Jewish *synagogue*, was מְשִׁיחַ מִן הַמֶּלֶךְ, ἀπόστολος τῆς ἐκκλησίας; in the Apocalypse, ἄγγελος τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Now the object of the writer, in Heb. iii. 1 seq. is, to compare Christ as appointed over the

household of God, with Moses in a similar office. Since then $\Gamma\lambda\psi$ meant *curator ædis sacræ, ædituus*, and such an office was the very object of comparison, nothing can be more natural, than that our author should have named Christ $\Gamma\lambda\psi$, i. e. *ἀπόστολος*. See Comm. on Heb. iii. 1.

And why should it be considered as incompatible with that *reverence* which Paul had for Christ, that he should call him *ἀπόστολος*? The same Paul, in Rom. xv. 8, calls Jesus Christ *διάκονον τῆς περιτομῆς*. Is *διάκονος* a *more honorable* appellation than *ἀπόστολος*? Or because Paul calls Christ *διάκονος*, in this case, are we to draw the inference, that he did not write the epistle to the Romans, since this word is no where else applied by him in this manner? Such a conclusion would be of the same nature, and of the same validity, as that which Bertholdt has drawn, from the use of *ἀπόστολος* and *ἀρχιερεὺς*, in the epistle to the Hebrews.

Thus much for *words* and *phrases*. Bertholdt next brings forward *sentiments* in the epistle to the Hebrews, which are diverse, he says, from Paul's, if not in opposition to them.

(1.) 'In Heb. x. 25 seq., the speedy coming of Christ is mentioned; and so it is often by Paul. But in the epistle to the Hebrews, it is evidently a *moral* coming, a *moral* change; whereas Paul every where speaks of it as an *actual, visible* coming of Christ.'

This difficulty depends entirely upon the writer's *exegesis*. Whatever the nature of the coming of Christ may be, I venture to say, it is palpably represented in the same manner, in the epistle to the Hebrews and in the epistles of Paul. Indeed, so far has the representation, in the epistle to the Hebrews, appeared to be from being *plainly* a *moral* one, that some of the most distinguished commentators

have understood it, as having respect to the *natural* changes that are to take place, when Christ shall come at the end of the world. So Storr; and others, also, before and after him. Paul surely has little or nothing, which more certainly designates the *actual, visible* coming of Christ, than this epistle. Comp. 1 Cor. iv. 5, 6. Phil. i. 10. iv. 5. 1 Thess. iii. 13. v. 1—6. v. 23. 1 Tim. vi. 13—16. Tit. ij. 11—13. Compare, also, with these representations, 2 Thess. ii. 1—10, where Paul explains his views in respect to the coming of Christ. Indeed, so much alike is the representation of this subject, in the epistle to the Hebrews and in Paul's epistles, that many critics have used this very circumstance as a proof, that the author of both must have been the same person; an argument not valid, however, because the same representation is common to other writers of the New Testament. Still, the mention of this serves to show, that the exegesis of Bertholdt, in this case, is not to be relied on with such confidence as he places in it.

(2.) 'According to the epistle to the Hebrews, the propitiatory office of Christ continues *for ever* in the heavenly world, vii. 24 seq.; whereas Paul, on the contrary, considers the atonement for men as already *completed*, by the death and resurrection of Jesus, Rom. iv. 25.'

This argument is surely not well chosen. The author of the epistle to the Hebrews says, in so many words, that the High Priest of Christianity had no daily necessity, like the Jewish priests, to make offerings first for his own transgressions and then for those of the people; "for this he did once for all, when he made an offering of himself, vii. 27." And again; "Nor had he need often to repeat the sacrifice of himself, (as the high priest yearly enters into the holy place with blood not his own); for then he must have suffered often since the foundation of the world; but

now, in this last age, he has appeared, once for all, to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. And as all men die, once for all, and then go to the judgment; so Christ was offered up, once for all, to take away the sins of many; and when he shall make his second appearance, it will not be to atone for sin, but to bestow salvation on those who look for him," ix. 25—28. How can words make it more certain, that the author of the epistle to the Hebrews considered the propitiation or atonement as entirely *completed*, by the death of Christ?

It is true, indeed, that the same author also represents Christ as for ever living, and exercising the duties of his office as an intercessor (or helper) for the saints, before God; "He, because he continueth for ever, hath an unchangeable priesthood; whence he is able to save to the uttermost those who come unto God through him, since he ever lives to intercede for (*ἱκετεύειν* to *help*) them," vii. 24, 25. With which agrees another representation, in ix. 24; "Christ has entered into heaven itself, henceforth to appear before God for us."

But are these sentiments foreign to Paul, as Bertholdt alleges? "Who shall accuse the elect of God?—God acquits them. Who shall pass sentence of condemnation upon them? Christ, who died for them? Rather, who is risen again, who is at the right hand of God, and who intercedes for (*ἱκετεύειν* *helps*) them," Rom. viii. 33.

Here is not only the very same idea, as in the epistle to the Hebrews, but even the very same term (*ἱκετεύειν*) is used in both. Instead then of affording any evidence *against* the opinion, that Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews, the point in question affords evidence in favour of it. Paul, and Paul only, of all the apostolic authors, has presented the idea of the *intercession* of Christ in the

heavenly world. To say the least, the whole mode of representing this subject is Pauline. The only difference between the epistle to the Romans and the epistle to the Hebrews, is, that in the latter case, the nature of the argument which the writer had employed, required him to represent Christ as performing the functions of a priest in the heavenly world. But it is palpably the intercessory function, which he is represented as continuing there to perform, in the passages which I have cited.

(3.) 'The doctrine respecting the *Logos*, in the epistle to the Hebrews, is of Alexandrine hue, and evidently resembles that of John, and not of Paul. E. g. the divine *Logos* (*Λόγος Θεοῦ*) is quick and powerful, &c., iv. 12, 13; also, Christ is a priest, *κατὰ δύνανιν ζωῆς ἀκαταλύτου*, vii. 16. So too, when Christ is represented as making an offering *διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου*, ix. 14, this, as well as the other cases, coincides with the views and representations of John, and not of Paul.'

If now a critic will do such violence to the laws of exegesis, as to construe these passages so as to make them have respect to the doctrine of the *Logos*, the best way to answer him would be, to show that his principles of interpretation are without any good foundation. I cannot turn aside to do this here, as it more properly belongs to the exegetical part of the work. I shall content myself with merely observing, that one of the last ideas, which can well be deduced from the passage respecting the *Λόγος Θεοῦ* just referred to, is that which Bertholdt has deduced from it; a deduction, which does equal violence to the context, and to the whole strain of reasoning, in our epistle. And where does *John* speak of Christ's *eternal priesthood*, or of his offering made in heaven *διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου*?

At the conclusion of the arguments which I have now reviewed, Bertholdt adds, "With such real discrepancies between the epistle to the Hebrews and those of Paul, it is impossible that identity of authorship should exist, p. 2943."

If, indeed, the discrepancies were made out as clearly as Bertholdt supposes them to be, there might be some difficulty in supposing identity of authorship; at least we could not suppose this, without at the same time conceding, that the writer was at variance in some measure with himself. But the conclusion which Bertholdt here draws, of course depends entirely on the fact, that all his allegations in respect to discrepancies of style and sentiment are well supported. Whether this be so, must now be left to the reader to judge.

But there are other recent writers, who remain to be examined, that have gone into the subject under discussion much more thoroughly and copiously than Bertholdt. I refer in particular to Dr. Schulz of Breslau, in the introduction to his *Translation of the epistle to the Hebrews, with brief notes*, published A. D. 1818; and to Seyffarth, in his tract, *De Epistolæ ad Heb. indole maxime peculiari*. This last work especially has been spoken of with strong commendations by many critics; and Heinrichs, who in the first edition of his *Commentary on the Hebrews* defended the Pauline origin of our epistle, has, in the second edition of the same, declared himself a convert to the side of those who disclaim Paul as the author; attributing his conviction principally to the essay of Seyffarth just mentioned. As these works are the latest critical attempts to discuss at length the question under examination, and as they have manifestly had no small degree of influence upon the views of most

of the continental critics of the present time, a particular examination of them becomes necessary.

§ 27. *Objections of Schulz considered.*

That Dr. Schulz is a man entitled to high respect for acuteness and strength of intellectual power, is sufficiently manifest from his work on the Sacrament, entitled *Die christl. Lehre vom heil. Abendmahle, nach dem Grundtexte des N. Testaments*, A. D. 1824; a work which, from the talent it develops, and the discussion that it has excited, bids fair perhaps to bring this long controverted subject to some close in the Lutheran church. His acquisitions of a *philological* nature are such, also, that great expectations were excited among not a few in Germany (if the Reviews are to be credited), when it was announced that Dr. Schulz's commentary on our epistle was about to appear. I make these remarks principally to show, that a particular attention to his work is not only allowable on the present occasion, but really necessary, if one would even seem to preserve the attitude of impartiality.

This work was published a year before Bertholdt's volume, which contains the views that I have just examined. But this writer informs us, that he had not seen the work of Schulz when his own went to the press; consequently, this author, so far as we are now concerned, may be considered as posterior to Bertholdt.

Nearly the whole *Introduction* of Schulz is devoted to the consideration of the question, Who was the author of the epistle to the Hebrews? or rather, to showing that Paul was not the author, pp. 1—158. Previously to

writing this, the author had been engaged in controversy on the subject with his colleague Scheibel. The whole work bears the appearance of a heated, if not an exasperated state of mind; and while it discloses some vivid thoughts and pungent considerations, it also discloses some adventurous remarks and extravagant criticisms; to which the sequel of this examination will bear testimony.

The first fifty pages are devoted to the examination of Meyer's *Essay on the internal grounds for supposing that the epistle to the Hebrews was written by Paul*.¹ In this are some remarks worthy of consideration, and which may serve to show that Meyer, in some cases, has pushed his comparisons too far. It is not to my purpose, however, to review this; as the subject has already been presented above, in § 21. My only object is, to select from Schulz such arguments against the Pauline origin of our epistle, as have not already been examined, in order that the reader may obtain a full view of our subject. These arguments I shall now subjoin, with such remarks upon each, as the nature of the case may seem to require.

(1.) 'It is incomprehensible, and indeed quite impossible, that, if Paul wrote this epistle, early Christian antiquity should have been so doubtful about it, and the epistle itself have been received by the church so late, and with so much difficulty; and after all, received only by some, and not at all by the generality of Christians. Such a fate did no other book of the New Testament meet with; not even the epistles which are addressed to individual persons,' p. 58.

This objection borrows all its importance from assuming the fact, that our epistle was early and generally doubted

¹ Printed in Ammon and Bertholdt's *Kritisches Journal der neuesten Theol. Literatur*. II. 225 seq.

in the churches, and at last but partially and doubtfully received. Whether Schulz had any good right to assume such a fact, must be left to the judgment of those who have read and weighed with impartiality the historical evidence already laid before them. It is unnecessary to retrace the ground here, which has once been passed over. The state of facts is far enough from showing, that all early Christians were doubtful about this epistle; nor can it be rendered probable, in any way, that doubts about it, at any period, had their origin in any *ancient* tradition that the epistle was not written by Paul. The doubts suggested are merely of a *critical* nature, or else they originated in *doctrinal* opinions, which seemed to be thwarted by our epistle.

Nor is it correct, that other parts of the New Testament were not early doubted by some churches; nay, some of it was doubted by many. Witness the fact, that Eusebius, *Ecc. Hist.* III. 25, classes among the ἀντιλεγόμενοι, James, Jude, 2 Peter, 2 John, and 3 John. Witness the fact, that the old Syriac version (Peshito) does not comprise either of these epistles, that of James excepted. Who, that is acquainted with the early state of criticism, and the history of our Canon, does not know that the ancient churches were not, for a long time, agreed in respect to all these epistles? Yet neither Schulz, nor any considerate critic, would decide that these books were spurious, because doubts had been raised respecting them. Are not the gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John doubted, and called in question by some learned critics, even at the present time? Shall they be given up, because they are called in question?

(2.) 'The epistle to the Hebrews is altogether *unique*; so much so, that no other writer of the New Testament

could have produced it. Every one who can comprehend peculiarities, and is able to distinguish them, must acknowledge this to be so. Nothing more than this fact needs to be considered, in order to decide the matter,' p. 59.

If the writer here means that the *style* is *unique*, then I must refer to the evidences of the contrary in the preceding pages. If he means that the selection of particular *words* is *unique*, this is to be hereafter considered, when the selection, which Dr. Schulz has made, comes to be examined. If he means, that the *matter* is *sui generis*, I readily accede; but I demur to the allegation. Must Paul always write on one and the same subject to all the churches? Were their circumstances and wants all just the *same*? E. g. is the first epistle to the Corinthians just like that to the Romans, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, &c.; or is it a kind of ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, or ἀπαξ λογιζόμενον, compared with all the other epistles of Paul? Surely none of the others has much resemblance to it, in respect to the *matters* treated of. Does it then follow, that this epistle is *spurious*, because the subjects of it are *sui generis*? And is it any better evidence, that the epistle to the Hebrews does not belong to Paul, because the subjects of which it treats are *peculiar*? When we can prove that the wants of all churches are one and the same; and that an apostle who addresses them can write, or ought to write, only upon one subject, and in one way; then, and not till then, can this argument of Schulz have any weight in deciding the question before us.

(3.) 'The Hebrews addressed in this epistle are of a peculiar class. They seem to have regarded themselves as a species of *illuminati*, elect, and favourites of heaven; as animated by the Holy Spirit dwelling in them; they are represented as despising the world, as inclined to mystical

and allegorical views, as aiming at the acquisition of un-earthly objects, &c. The epistle wins much for its exegesis, by such a supposition,' p. 67 seq.

But supposing, now, all this to be correct, (which it would be difficult enough satisfactorily to prove,) how would it show that Paul did not write our epistle to them? And surely, if the Hebrews had such views of themselves, what the apostle says, in chapter v. vi., and in some other places, was well adapted to humble them, and bring them to sober consideration.

The proof, on which Dr. Schulz relies for the establishment of his assertion, is drawn from the use, by the writer of our epistle, of such terms as ἄγιοι, φωτισθέντες, τέλειοι, ἁγιαζόμενοι, λαός τοῦ Θεοῦ, &c. But these are terms applied to Christians, everywhere in the New Testament, and to the use of which nothing peculiar in our epistle can be justly attributed.

(4.) 'The author of this epistle was a Judaizing Christian, who grants that Judaism is still to continue, yea to have a perpetual duration. Not a trace of any thing is to be found, which intimates an equal participation in the privileges of the gospel by Jews and Gentiles,' pp. 74. 80.

The *first* of these allegations is, so far as I know, *altogether new*. Nothing more need be said in respect to it, than to refer the reader to chapters VIII—X., for most ample and satisfactory confutation. I had ever thought, before reading Dr. Schulz, that the writer of our epistle was the last of men who could be justly accused of *Judaizing*. If his views do not agree with those of Paul, in respect to this matter, I am unable to see how language could express them.

In regard to the *second* allegation; it is sufficient to say, that the object of the writer did not lead him to treat of the

subject to which it relates. Are there not other epistles of Paul, which do not bring this subject to view? And must a writer always repeat the same topics? In what part of the first epistle to the Corinthians does Paul treat of the equal participation of Jews and Gentiles in the privileges of the gospel, and maintain the equal right of the latter; as he does in the epistles to the Romans and Galatians? And is it not enough to say, that he did not do this, because the occasion did not demand it?

(5.) 'But Christ, in our epistle, appears every where as the *Son of God*, as *Apostle*, and *High Priest*. Where is he so represented by Paul?' p. 81 seq.

In regard to the appellation, *Son of God*, it is often enough given to Christ by Paul. In respect to *ἀπόστολος* and *ἀρχιερεὺς*, he is not so called, indeed, by the apostle in his acknowledged epistles. The only reason why the writer of our epistle calls him so, is obviously one drawn from the nature of the comparison instituted between him and Moses, and between him and the Jewish high priest. The nature of the composition and the object of the writer rendered this unavoidable. In the acknowledged epistles of Paul, no such occasion is presented of using the appellations in question. See above, p. 230.

(6.) 'The design of the writer is *hortatory*. The motives which he urges to continue steadfast in the Christian belief, and in the practice of Christian virtue, are drawn, (1) From the great dignity of the Messiah; (2) From the danger to which apostacy would expose them. This danger is augmented by the consideration, that the *end of the world is near at hand*, p. 86 seq. Storr, and others, who differ in their exegesis of passages which declare this, scarcely deserve contradiction,' p. 91.

The whole force of this rests, of course, upon the *ὁρ-*

rectness of Dr. Schulz's exegesis. From his views, in regard to such passages as x. 36 seq. and xii. 26 seq., I feel myself compelled entirely to dissent. But even if they are allowed, I see not how they can establish the fact, that Paul did not write our epistle, provided we stand upon the same ground with Dr. Schulz. He will not deny that Paul had exalted views of the dignity of the Saviour, and of the obligation of Christians to continue steadfast in their acknowledgment of him. He believes that Paul, too, expected the end of the world to be actually near at hand. What is there, then, in the sentiments of our epistle, inconsistent with these views of Paul, as understood by him?

(7.) 'Our author says nothing of Christ as judge of the world, but uniformly attributes judgment to God. Nor does he say a word of Hades, Gehenna, Satan, (excepting in ii. 14, 15,) the resurrection of the dead, and generally of the closing scene of all things; of which matters Paul treats so copiously,' p. 95 seq.

But surely the final close or destruction of all material things is sufficiently intimated in i. 10 seq.; future punishment in iv. 11 seq. vi. 4 seq. x. 26 seq. xii. 29. That the names *Hades* and *Gehenna* do not occur in our epistle, would be a singular argument to prove that Paul did not write it. Where, in all the acknowledged epistles of Paul, is either of these words to be found, excepting in one solitary quotation in 1 Cor. xv. 55, which exhibits ᾠδης? As to *Satan*, this appellation does not indeed occur; but its equivalent διάβολος occurs, in ii. 14. The word *Satan* does not occur in Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon: are these epistles therefore *spurious*?

In regard to *the resurrection of the dead*, it is sufficient to refer to vi. 2. xi. 35. and what is implied in xii. 22 seq.

That the writer of our epistle did not make frequent mention of these topics is easily accounted for, on the ground that he was more immediately occupied with other subjects. Are there not several of Paul's acknowledged epistles which omit the same topics? But who undertakes to prove from this, that they are spurious?

(8.) 'But not a word of Christ's resurrection; a theme on which Paul everywhere descants,' p. 97.

What then does Heb. xiii. 20 mean? And what is implied in viii. 1. i. 3. x. 12. xii. 2. ii. 9. v. 7—9? And will Dr. Schulz point out the places, where Paul discusses this subject in his epistles to the Galatians, Colossians, in the second to the Thessalonians, in the first to Timothy, and some others?

(9.) 'If Paul did not become wholly unlike himself, and change his very nature, he could not have written the epistle to the Hebrews; which not only contains ideas foreign to his, but opposed to his,' p. 101.

This is *assertion*, not *argument*. The only way to convince those who differ in opinion from us, is to offer *arguments* for what we avouch; not merely to assume or assert it to be true.

(10.) 'The grand point of Paul's doctrines is, that Christ is the *Saviour of all*; that he died, or made atonement, *for all*. There is nothing of this in our epistle. Paul everywhere makes *belief in Christ* essential to salvation, and looks with contempt upon Jewish rites and ceremonies. But our author evidently handles Judaism with a sparing hand, and treats with honour the shell, from which he endeavours to extract the nut,' p. 102 seq.

In regard to the first of these allegations, the reader is referred to Heb. ii. 9—11. v. 9. ix. 15. 28. xiii. 10; which afford hints sufficiently plain, that the writer did not regard

the Messiah as the Saviour of the Jews only. But to treat, in our epistle, of the extent of his salvation among the Gentiles, plainly was not apposite to the particular design he had in view; and he might abstain from this topic, out of regard to the prejudices which those whom he addressed probably entertained (in common with most Jews) respecting it. Are there none of the acknowledged Pauline epistles, which do not treat of this subject? And must Paul always bring it into view, whether to do so would be timely or untimely, apposite or inapposite to the object of his epistle?

In respect to the *Judaizing* spirit of the writer, I must refer once more to chap. VIII—X.; and what has already been said above, in examining the fourth objection. And with regard to belief in Christ as essential to salvation, the great object of all the epistle to the Hebrews is to urge it. Dispute with one who denies this, would surely be in vain.

(11.) ‘ Paul no where represents Christ as a priest, nor his intercession as procuring favours for them,’ p. 109 seq.

In respect to this objection, I refer the reader to what has already been said, pp. 230 (h) and 232 (2).

(12.) ‘ Paul has no where drawn a parallel between Christ and Moses,’ p. 111.

But he did something very much like it, when he represented Moses and Christ as *mediators*, Gal. iii. 19 seq. And if he has not formally done it in any of his acknowledged epistles, it is enough to say, it was because the occasion did not call for it.

(13.) ‘ Our author says nothing of the *kingdom of God*, or the *kingdom of Satan*, or of the *gospel of Jesus Christ*; ideas predominant in Paul’s epistles,’ p. 115.

But is not a kingdom ascribed to Christ in Heb. i. 8, 9.

i. 10 seq. ii. 7 seq. x. 13. xii. 2? And are not Christians represented as belonging to it, in xii. 28? And are the second epistle to the Corinthians and the epistle to the Philippians not genuine, because the first of these phrases is not in them? Is not the power or reign of Satan recognised, in Heb. ii. 14, 15? And as to *εὐαγγέλιον*, see iv. 2. iv. 6. Apply, too, the same method of reasoning to Paul's acknowledged epistles. *Εὐαγγελίζω* is a favourite word with this apostle; yet Philippians, Colossians, 2 Thessalonians, 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, do not exhibit it. The word *εὐαγγέλιον*, too, is not found in the epistle to Titus. But is not the *thing*, which it indicates, found there? It is; and so it is in Hebrews, as frequently as the nature of the case required; e. g.: i. 1. ii. 1. 3. iv. 1, 2. v. 12. vi. 1 seq. x. 25. xiii. 8, 9. 17.

(14.) 'How such expressions respecting the resurrection; as occur in 1 Cor. xv. 5 seq. Rom. vi. 4. xi. 15. Phil. iii. 20 seq. Col. ii. 13. 1 Thess. iv. 15 seq. 2 Thess. ii. 2 Tim. ii. 18. with Acts xxiv. 15. xxvi. 6 seq., are to be reconciled with the views of the resurrection presented in our epistle, those who defend the genuineness of the epistle may be called on to account for,' p. 116.

In some of these citations, I can find no reference at all to the resurrection. In others, (e. g. Col. ii. 13.) there is simply a *figurative* or *moral* use of the term. As to the remainder, I can perceive no discrepancy between them and Heb. vi. 2. xi. 35. and what is implied in xii. 22 seq. As Schulz has not pointed out in what the discrepancy consists, I am unable to apprehend it.

(15.) 'But 1 Cor. xv. 24 seq. is at variance with Heb. i. 2. 8 seq. 12, 13. vii. 24 seq. comp. v. 16. ix. 14. p. 116.'

Just as much as it is with Luke i. 33. Dan. ii. 44. vii. 14. Mic. iv. 7. John xii. 34. Isa. ix. 6. Ps. lxxxix. 36.

2 Sam. vii. 16; and no more. What interpreter, who has carefully studied the idiom of the Scriptures, does not know that לְעוֹלָם , לְנֶצַח , and $\text{εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων}$, are applied to things to which a time of continuance is assigned, that is not liable to interruption by any *adventitious* circumstances, and which are to endure to the full period for which they were designed? So it is with *the world, the mountains, the hills*; they are לְעוֹלָם , εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας . So also, the *mediatorial reign* is not to be interrupted, but to continue until all the designs of God in the redemption of men are completed. Then, of course, it must cease; as no more mediatorial offices are to be performed.

And why too should Dr. Schulz suggest such a consideration, as a proof that Paul did not write the epistle to the Hebrews, when he makes no difficulty at all in suggesting, that the sacred writers are not unfrequently at variance with themselves? To allege the fact of *variance*, then, either with each other or with themselves, is no valid argument, on the ground upon which he stands. He is not, here, consistent with himself. And besides, has not Paul himself recognised the *perpetuity* of Christ's dominion, in his acknowledged epistles? See Rom. ix. 5.

(16.) 'The writer of our epistle, entangled with types and allegories, knows not how to say any thing respecting Christianity, except what he finds an analogy for in Judaism; so that his work is made up of parallels between the old and new dispensation, spun out to an excessive length. . . . The limited circle in which this writer moves, his evident deficiency in activity of mind, and in unfolding his own views, are altogether unlike the active, creative mind of Paul, that master-spirit, who moves with such perfect freedom, and controls at pleasure all his own views, without any subjection to the influence of others, or even

being at all affected by any thing of Jewish origin; all of which was entirely at his command. . . . Whoever should attribute this singular production to Paul, would show that he was little acquainted with him,' p. 119.

Yet, in p. 124, Dr. Schulz says, "One finds in the unknown author [of our epistle], more orderly deduction, more learned accuracy, and, for the most part, a well-arranged, gradual ascent, from the point where he starts, which he usually establishes by quotations from the Old Testament, to the sublime region, to which, as true, eternal, and heavenly, he directs every thing, and where he ends every thing; finally, more luxurious, oratorical qualities, than in Paul."

How this consists with the preceding representation, the writer of both may well be required to show. The reader, I am sure, must find difficulty enough to make them harmonize. But, at any rate, the accusation that the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews is not master of his own subject and own thoughts, is, so far as I know, *new*; and one which (as I shall confidently believe, until I see more evidence to the contrary,) it is unnecessary to answer.

(17.) 'Heb. ii. 1, 2. proves that Paul could not have been the writer of our epistle; for he did not receive his gospel from others, but was immediately taught it by Christ himself, Gal. i. 11, 12. v. 15—19.' p. 125 seq.

On the subject of this objection, the reader is referred to p. 47 (c). I add here only, that if the use of the *first person plural* by the writer, necessarily makes him one, in all respects, with those whom he is addressing, then the author of our epistle did himself need the admonitions which he has so powerfully and feelingly addressed to others; see ii. 1. 3. iii. 6. iv. 1, 2. 11. 13. 16. vi. 1—3. 18, 19. x. 22—25, 26. 39. xi. 40. xii. 1. 9, 10. 28. xiii. 10. 13. 15. Nay,

he must have included himself among those who were shaken in their Christian belief, and who were in imminent hazard of final apostacy.

On the other hand; nothing can be plainer, than that he uses *we* or *ye* indifferently, for the persons whom he addresses; e. g. *we*, in xii. 1, 2; *ye*, in xii. 3—8; *we*, in xii. 9, 10; *ye*, in xii. 14—25; *we*, in xiii. 25—28, and often in the same manner elsewhere, the address being still most manifestly made to the very same persons. He often employs, also, the first person plural (*ἡμεῖς*), to designate *merely himself*; e. g. in Heb. ii. 5. vi. 9. 11. xiii. 18. This, in like manner, he interchanges with the first person singular; e. g. xiii. 18. comp. xiii. 19. 22, 23.

How can it be, now, that Dr. Schulz should so strenuously urge the argument drawn from the use of the *first person plural*, to show that the writer of our epistle received his knowledge of the gospel from apostles and disciples, and of course that he could not be Paul? Yet he not only urges it at length, pp. 125—130, but declares, that ‘it affords a decisive proof, that the apostle Paul could not have written the epistle in question,’ p. 126. Especially, how could he urge such an argument, when the same use of the first person plural runs through all the Pauline epistles: e. g. *ἡμεῖς* and *ἐγὼ* for the writer himself, Gal. i. 8. comp. i. 9—24. Gal. ii. 5. comp. ii. 1—4, and ii. 6, 7. So *ἡμεῖς* and *ὁμοῖς* for the persons addressed, Gal. iii. 1—12. iii. 13—25. iii. 26—29. iv. 3. 5. iv. 6—20. iv. 26—31, et alibi. Is it possible, then, to attribute any weight to such an argument as that in question?

(18.) ‘The manner of citing or appealing to the Old Testament, by Paul and by the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews, is very different. Paul appeals to it as a *written record*; but the writer of our epistle every where cites it as

the immediate word of God, or of the Holy Ghost. Paul's formulas of citation are, γέγραπται, καθὼς γέγραπται, ἡ γραφή λέγει, ἐγράφη, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, ὁ λόγος γεγραμμένος, Μωϋσῆς γράφει—λέγει, ὁ νόμος λέγει, ἐν Μωϋσείῳ νόμῳ γέγραπται, Δαβὶδ λέγει, Ἡσαΐας λέγει—κράζει, ἐν τῷ Ὠσηὲ λέγει, and κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον; which are not used in a single instance, in the epistle to the Hebrews. Instead of these formulas, the author uses λέγει—μαρτύρει—τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, λέγει ὁ θεός; or the abridgments of these formulas, viz. λέγει, εἶρηκε, μαρτύρει, φησί. Does not such a diversity necessarily imply diversity of authorship? p. 120 seq.

To this representation of Dr. Schulz, Seyffarth has not only assented, but in his *Essay on the Peculiarities of the epistle to the Hebrews*,¹ he has placed the modes of appeal to the Jewish Scriptures at the head of these *peculiarities*, so far as the style of the author is concerned; “referenda huc est, præ ceteris omnibus, *loci Vet. Test. laudandi singularis ratio*.” Dr. Schulz moreover says, ‘that plainly Paul makes less frequent use, in general, of the Old Testament Scriptures, than is made of them in the epistle to the Hebrews;’ an objection which has been frequently alleged by others.

The result of an attentive and repeated examination of our epistle, and of all the acknowledged Pauline epistles, in respect to the *mode* and *frequency* of quotation, has led me to conclusions somewhat different from those which Schulz and Seyffarth have adopted. I shall present them, with my reasons for adopting them.

(a) The writer of the epistle to the Hebrews is by no means uniform, in his mode of appeal to the Jewish Scriptures. In *twenty-one* cases, viz. i. 5. i. 6. i. 7. ii. 12. iii. 7. iv. 3. v. 5. v. 6. vi. 4. vii. 17. vii. 21. viii. 5. viii. 8.

¹ De epistolæ ad Heb. indole, §§ 58—60.

ix. 20. x. 5. x. 8. x. 9. x. 15. x. 30. xii. 26. xiii. 5. he has used *εἶπεν, εἶρηκε, λέγει, λέγων, μαρτύρει, φησὶ* with a nominative *never expressed*, except in three instances, viz. Heb. iii. 7. vi. 14 by implication, and x. 15. In *fourteen* of these cases, we may gather from the context, that *Θεὸς* or *Κύριος* is the probable nominative, i. e. the one which the writer meant his readers should supply. *Four* of the cases have *Χριστὸς* or *Ἰησοῦς* for a nominative, viz. ii. 13. x. 5. x. 8. x. 9, which is implied; *two* of them have *τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον* expressed, viz. iii. 7. x. 15. and *one* only has *Θεὸς* expressed, and that because it was unavoidable, vi. 14.

In *five* cases more, which are introduced merely with *πάλιν, καὶ, or δὲ*, viz. i. 5. i. 8. i. 10. ii. 13. x. 30, but stand connected with a preceding quotation, the grammatical connexion requires us to supply *εἶπε, λέγων, λέγει, &c.* i. e. *Κύριος* or *Θεὸς λέγει, εἶπε, &c.* In two cases of the like nature, viz. ii. 13. ii. 14, *Ἰησοῦς* or *Χριστὸς* is the implied nominative. In the whole, there are *twenty-five* instances of quotation in which the nominative is *not* expressed, in *nineteen* cases of which it probably is *Θεὸς*, and *Χριστὸς* in the other *six*. There are *two* cases only, in which the nominative *τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον* is expressed; and *one* only where *Θεὸς* is actually inserted.

If one might trust to the representations of Dr. Schulz and Seyffarth, he must, of course, be led to believe, that these are all the kinds of quotation which our epistle presents. This however is not the case. In ii. 6, we have *διεμαρτύρατο δὲ που τίς*, viz. *Δαβὶδ*; in iii. 15, *ἐν τῷ λέγεσθαι, when it is said*, (like *כִּי יֵאָמָר* in the Mishna); in iv. 4, *εἶρηκε γάρ που*, sc. *ἡ γραφή* plainly, which formula is repeated by *πάλιν* in iv. 5; in iv. 7 we find *ἐν Δαβὶδ λέγων, saying by David*; in ix. 20, *Μωϋσῆς—λέγων*; in xi. 18, *ἐλαλήθη*, (like *כִּי יֵאָמָר*); in xii. 5, *παρακλήσεως*; in xii. 20, *τὸ διαστελλόμενον*; in

xii. 21, *Μωϋσῆς εἶπε*; in xii. 27, τὸ δέ; in xiii. 6, ὥστε ἡμᾶς λέγειν, so that we may say. Besides this, we have, in iii. 5. x. 37. and xi. 21, quotations without any direct sign or notice of appeal; not to mention several references or partial quotations which might easily be subjoined. In the whole there are *fifteen* instances of quotation, (i. e. about *three eighths* of all the quotations), where the appeal is *different* from that which Schulz and Seyffarth attribute to our author, and on which they have built their argument against the Pauline origin of our epistle.

(b) There is a similar variety of appeal in the acknowledged Pauline epistles. E. g. καθὼς γέγραπται, γέγραπται γάρ, or ἐν νόμῳ γέγραπται, are used in Romans sixteen times; viz. i. 17. ii. 24. iii. 4. iii. 10. iv. 17. viii. 36. ix. 13. ix. 33. x. 15. xi. 8. xi. 26. xii. 19. xiv. 11. xv. 3. xv. 9. xv. 21. In 1 Corinthians nine times; viz. i. 19. i. 31. ii. 9. iii. 19. ix. 9. x. 7. xiv. 21. xv. 45. xv. 54. In 2 Corinthians three times, viz. iv. 13. viii. 15. ix. 9. In Galatians four times; viz. iii. 10. iii. 13. iv. 22. iv. 27. In all, thirty-two. Ἡ γραφὴ λέγει is used eight times; viz. Rom. iv. 3. ix. 17. x. 11. xix. 2. probably Rom. xv. 10. xv. 11. 1 Cor. vi. 16. Gal. iv. 30. Ἡσαίας λέγει, four times; viz. Rom. x. 16. x. 20. x. 21. xv. 12. Ἡσαίας κράζει, Rom. ix. 27; Ἡσαίας προείρηκε, ix. 29; Μωϋσῆς λέγει, x. 19; Μωϋσῆς γράφει, x. 5; Δαβὶδ λέγει, iv. 16. xi. 9; ὁ νόμος ἔλεγε, vii. 7; ἡ ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνη λέγει, x. 6; τί λέγει [sc. ἡ ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνη] x. 9; χρηματισμὸς λέγει, xi. 4.

There are *ten* cases of quotation without any formula of appeal; viz. Rom. ix. 7. x. 13. x. 18. xi. 34. xii. 20. 1 Cor. ii. 16. x. 26. xv. 27. Gal. iii. 11. iii. 12; not to mention many cases where partial reference is made, in both the phraseology and thought of the apostle, to passages in the Old Testament.

Where an appeal is expressly made to the Old Testament by Paul, in his acknowledged epistles, there is then a small majority of cases in which *καθὼς γέγραπται*, or its equivalents, are used, if we take the whole together. But in the epistle to the Romans, the other methods of quotation *predominate*. The ground of such appeals as *Δαβὶδ*, *Ἡσαΐας*, *Μωϋσῆς*—*λέγει*, will be the subject of remark by and by.

(c) The assertion of Schulz, that Paul no where uses the formula of appeal *Θεὸς, Κύριος*—*λέγει*, comes next to be examined; for on this have he and Seyffarth grounded the conclusion, that the same writer could not have been the author of the Pauline epistles and of the epistle to the Hebrews. Assertions made at random on this subject, cannot decide it. Let the appeal be made to *facts*.

Rom. ix. 12, *ἐπρήθη αὐτῇ*, viz. to Rebecca. But by whom was it said? By Jehovah, Gen. xxv. 23. It is the *λόγος Κυρίου* or *Θεοῦ*, then, to which appeal is necessarily made here. Rom. ix. 15, *τῷ Μωϋσῇ λέγει* [sc. *ὁ Κύριος* vel *ὁ Θεός*.] Rom. ix. 25, *ἐν τῷ Ὡσηὲ λέγει* [sc. *ὁ Θεός*.] just the same as in Heb. iv. 7, *ἐν Δαβὶδ λέγων*; i. e. *saying by Hosea, saying by David*.

In 2 Cor. vi. 2, *λέγει γάρ*, [sc. *ὁ Κύριος*]; vi. 16, *εἶπεν ὁ Θεός*; vi. 17, *λέγει Κύριος*; vi. 18, *λέγει Κύριος παντοκράτωρ*; Gal. iii. 16, *οὐ λέγει* [sc. *ὁ Θεός*.]

So much for the assertion, that Paul has *never* used the formula of appeal, *ὁ Θεός λέγει*, or *λέγει Κύριος*. Dr. Schulz will surely not object, that the nominative *Κύριος* or *Θεός* is not *expressed* in all these cases; for it *never* is so, in the epistle to the Hebrews, with the exception of only one instance, viz. Heb. vi. 14. But other resemblances remain to be pointed out.

In Rom. xiii. 9, *τὸ γὰρ* is prefixed to a quotation; and again, *ἐν τῷ*, Rom. xiii. 9. In the same way is *τὸ δὲ* used,

Heb. xii. 27. In Rom. iv. 18, we find the perfect participle used, κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον; in Heb. xii. 20, τὸ διαστελλόμενον. In Rom. ix. 12, ἐρρήθη; Heb. xi. 18, ἐλαλήθη, and (equivalent to this) ἐν τῷ λέγεσθαι, iii. 15.

In regard to the assertion of Schulz and Seyffarth, 'that Θεός, Χριστός, or πνεῦμα ἅγιον, is *always* the nominative to λέγει, εἶπε, &c., in the epistle to the Hebrews,' the following formulas may be consulted; viz. Heb. ii. 6, διημαρτύρατο δὲ σου τίς, [sc. Δαβὶδ]; iv. 4, εἶρηκε γὰρ [sc. ἡ γραφή]; which is repeated by necessary implication, in iv. 5; ix. 20, Μωϋσῆς . . . λέγων xii. 21, Μωϋσῆς εἶπε, (either a quotation of a sacred traditional saying, or a reference to the Scriptures *ad sensum*): all cases of the same nature, as those which occur in Paul's acknowledged epistles.

Besides these, we have, in xii. 5, a quotation referred to by calling it παράκλησις, (comp. Rom. xi. 4, χρηματισμός λέγει); and in xiii. 6, we are pointed to a text of Scripture by the expression, ὥστε ἡμᾶς λέγειν. There are several instances, also, of quotation without any formula of appeal; just as in Paul's acknowledged epistles.

(d) There is as great a difference between Paul's *acknowledged* epistles, in regard to the formulas and the frequency of quotation from the Old Testament, as there is between the epistle to the Hebrews and some of Paul's acknowledged epistles; nay, even a greater difference. E. g. in the first epistle to the Corinthians, the only formula of quotation is the verb γέγραπται, viz. 1 Cor. i. 19. i. 31. ii. 9. iii. 19. iii. 20. ix. 9. x. 7. xiv. 21. xv. 24, one case only excepted, vi. 16. Four times, quotation is made without any formula, viz. 1 Cor. ii. 16. x. 26. xv. 27. xv. 32. Now in the epistle to the Romans, out of forty-eight quotations, only sixteen are introduced with the same formula; the others exhibiting all the variety above described. On the other

hand, the second epistle to the Corinthians is equally divided between the formulas, *ὡς γέγραπται*, and *λέγει, εἶπε* [sc. *ὁ Θεὸς* or *Κύριος*]; there being three of each kind, viz. *ὡς γέγραπται*, 2 Cor. iv. 13. viii. 15. ix. 9. *λέγει, εἶπε* [*ὁ Θεὸς*], vi. 2. vi. 16. vi. 17. It has also two quotations without any formula, ix. 7. xiii. 1. The epistle to the Galatians has four formulas with *γέγραπται*, Gal. iii. 10. iii. 13. iv. 22. iv. 27; one with *Θεὸς* implied, iii. 16; and two without any formula, iii. 11. iii. 12.

In all the other Pauline epistles, to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, to Timothy and Titus, there are not more than four or five quotations of Scripture to be found.

Suppose now, that we take the epistle to the Romans, (one of the most undoubted of all Paul's epistles,) as the model of this writer's quotations. Then the argument is conclusive, (on the ground which Schulz and Seyffarth have taken,) against the genuineness of all his other acknowledged epistles, unless it be the second to the Corinthians, and that to the Galatians. Above all, what shall we say of the great majority of his epistles, which never quote the Old Testament at all? Can it be, that the same man wrote these, who has directly appealed no less than *forty-eight* times to the Old Testament, in the epistle to the Romans, not to mention many other implicit references? And can it be, when his formulas of reference are so diverse, as they are between this epistle and the first to the Corinthians, that the same person was the author of both? It is easy now to perceive, that if arguments can be built on such circumstances as these, then the genuineness of the greater portion of the Pauline epistles must of course be denied. Is Dr. Schulz prepared for such a conclusion?

(c) A word as to the *greater frequency* of quotations, in

the epistle to the Hebrews. Let us compare it with that to the Romans, which it most of all resembles, in respect to discussion and method of argument. In the epistle to the Romans, there are, at least, *forty-eight* quotations; in that to the Hebrews, *thirty-four*. More may be made in each, if we reckon all the cases of like phraseology or resemblances to the Old Testament, in the turn of thought, which may be found in both. Now the proportion of the epistle to the Romans to that of the Hebrews, in regard to *length*, is as fourteen to ten; the number of quotations as forty-eight to thirty-four; which would average nearly three and a half to a page, in each epistle; the proportion being nearly the same in both, but the excess on the side of the epistle to the Romans. So much for the assertion, that the *frequency* of quotation in our epistle proves that Paul was not the author of it. If there be any weight in such an argument, it lies equally against the genuineness of the epistle to the Romans, compared with Paul's other epistles, which have no quotations at all.

(f) On the whole, then, the objection, drawn either from the *method* or the *frequency* of quotation, (*singularis ratio præ ceteris omnibus* of our epistle, as Seyffarth calls it,) vanishes away upon close examination; or if adhered to, must disprove the genuineness of a major part of the acknowledged epistles of Paul. That Paul, in our epistle, should have more frequently than elsewhere used λέγει, εἶπεν, εἶρηκε, is altogether consonant with what we may suppose him to have done, when addressing the Hebrews. The usual and almost the only mode of quoting, prevalent among the Jews, in ancient times, appears to have been such: at least if we may judge of it as it appears in the Mishna, where שֶׁנֶּאֱמָר, נֶאֱמָר, it is said, as it is said, which is said, is almost the only formula in use. There is an

obvious reason for this. Every Jew, being conversant with the Old Testament Scriptures, would of course know what was the kind and weight of the appeal, made by λέγει, εἶπε, (נֹאֵם); i. e. he would at once refer it to divine testimony. Hence, this abridged and natural mode of quotation prevails in our epistle. But in writing to churches made up of both Jews and Gentiles, the latter of whom were of course less familiar with the Old Testament, and knew less where to look for passages quoted, it was more natural for the apostle, (as he has done in the epistle to the Romans,) to say Μαῦσῆς λέγει, Ἑσαΐας λέγει, &c., so that the reference might be more definite. This is a sufficient reason to account for any differences in the *formula* of quotation, between our epistle and the other epistles of Paul. The difference itself has, however, as we have seen, been greatly over-rated. Nothing important, most plainly, can be made of it by higher criticism, in performing its office upon our epistle. What can be more improbable, too, than that such a master-spirit as Paul should cast all his letters in the same mould; always use the same round of expression; mechanically apply the same formulas of quotation; and for ever repeat the same sentiments in the same language? And because he has not done so, in the epistle to the Hebrews, must it be wrested from him, by criticism which exacts such uniformity in a writer? Where is the writer of epistles, ancient or modern, who possessed any talents and free command of language, whose letters can be judged of by such a critical test as this?

(19.) 'The appellations given to the Saviour, in Paul's acknowledged epistles and in the epistle to the Hebrews, are so diverse, as to afford strong evidence that both did not originate from the same person. E. g. in the Pauline epistles, these appellations are either, ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς

Χριστός, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, X. Ἰησοῦς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, or ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. In innumerable passages is Christ referred to by these appellations; which are so characteristic of Paul's writings, that they are to be regarded as nearly the *constant established formulas*, by which he adverts to the Saviour. On the contrary, in the epistle to the Hebrews, the writer uses most commonly υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ or ὁ υἱός; he also employs, at times, ὁ κύριος or ὁ Ἰησοῦς simply. *Twice only* has he connected Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. This must appear *striking* to every unprejudiced person, and of importance,' p. 139 seq.

Striking, indeed, the argument may appear, in the form stated by Schulz; but an investigation, through the medium of a Concordance, will present a very different result from that which he has presented.

(a) In regard to υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ or ὁ υἱός being the most frequent appellation given to Christ by the writer of our epistle, the facts stand thus. Omitting dubious references, and all the names of Christ that are appellatives suggested merely by the occasion, (such as ἀπόστολος, ἀρχιερεύς, ἀρχηγός σωτηρίας—τῆς πίστεως, μεσίτης, πατήρ, and κληρόνομος,) the writer refers to the Messiah, by some one of his usual titles, in thirty-two places; in four of which only he calls him υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, viz. Heb. iv. 14. vi. 6. vii. 3. x. 29. In eight other places he calls him υἱός; viz. i. 1, 5 bis, 8. iii. 6. v. 5. 8. vii. 28. In the Pauline epistles, these designations are used seventeen times; viz. Rom. i. 3, 4. 9. v. 10. viii. 3. 29. 32. 1 Cor. i. 9. xv. 28. 2 Cor. i. 19. Gal. i. 16. ii. 20. iv. 4. 6. Eph. iv. 13. Col. i. 13. 1 Thess. i. 10.

(b) Κύριος is so far from being limited to the epistle to the Hebrews, in its application to Christ, that, if I have counted rightly, it is found in the acknowledged Pauline epistles, applied in the same way, one hundred and forty-

seven times, and is the most frequent appellation of any, except *Χριστός*. The cases where *κύριος* stands united with *Ἰησοῦς*, *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*, &c. are exempted from this enumeration.

On the other hand, the writer of our epistle is so far from making a frequent use of this designation, that he has employed it singly in two places only, or at most three, viz. ii. 3. vii. 14, probably xii. 14.

That Schulz should make a representation so singularly incorrect, respecting the appellation *κύριος*, can be accounted for in no other way, than by supposing that he never examined his Concordance, for the sake of investigating the question respecting the use of it.

But further; in the epistle to the Romans, *κύριος* is applied to Christ not more than seventeen times; some may think still less, in as much as the exegesis, in a few of the cases, may be doubtful. In the first epistle to the Corinthians, however, (which is about the same length,) the same appellation is given to Christ forty-five times; while, in the epistle to Titus it does not occur at all. Further, *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*, or *Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς*, is used, in the epistle to the Romans, as connected with *κύριος*, only fourteen times; in 1 Corinthians, only eleven. *Ἰησοῦς κύριος* is used in Romans twice; in 1 Corinthians, thrice. *Κύριος Χριστός* only in Rom. xvi. 18. Such a variety of usage in these different epistles, must, if Schulz's method of arguing is correct, prove that Paul could not have written them all.

(c) *Ἰησοῦς*, without being connected with the other usual appellations of Christ, is employed in our epistle seven times; viz. ii. 9. vi. 20. vii. 22. x. 19. xii. 2. 24. xiii. 12. In the Pauline epistles, sixteen times; viz. Rom. iii. 26. viii. 11. 1 Cor. xii. 3. 2 Cor. iv. 5. iv. 10 bis. iv. 11 bis. iv. 14. xi. 4. Eph. iv. 21. Phil. ii. 10. 1 Thess. i. 10. ii. 15.

iv. 14 bis. In the epistles to the Galatians, Colossians, 2 Thessalonians, 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, it is not found at all.

(d) *Χριστός* is used, in like manner, by our author, six times, viz. ii. 6. 14. v. 5. vi. 1. ix. 11. 14. 24. 28. xi. 26; in the Pauline epistles one hundred and ninety-eight, if I have rightly counted.

(e) *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*, instead of being used only twice, as Schulz avers, is used three times; Heb. x. 10. xiii. 8. 21, omitting iii. 1, where it stands also in the *textus receptus*.

(f) In xiii. 20, *Κύριον Ἰ. Χριστόν* is used by the writer, just as Paul employs it.

(g) Those designations of Christ in the Pauline epistles, which Schulz has mentioned as the usual and only appellations of him by Paul, do not collectively amount to more than *sixty-eight*, if we take the number as stated by himself (who, however, as is usual with him, has in haste overlooked some instances); while, in the same epistles, other appellations, which he does *not* acknowledge, are used with far greater frequency; e. g. *κύριος* is used *one hundred and forty-seven times*, and *Χριστός*, *one hundred and ninety-eight*; the former being an appellation which this writer holds out as characteristic of our epistle to the Hebrews, and *neglected* by Paul. Truly this matter is *striking* (if I may use Dr. Schulz's own language); and if the epistle to the Hebrews can be wrested from Paul, only by arguments such as this, those who ascribe it to this apostle have not much reason for apprehension, in regard to the safety of their cause.

Even if the facts stated by Schulz were correct, it would not follow that Paul could not be the author of our epistle. The predominant appellation of the Saviour in the Pauline

epistles is simply *Χριστός*; as we have just seen. Yet, in the second epistle to the Thessalonians, this appellation, simply used, occurs but once, (iii. 5.) and in both the epistles to Timothy, and in that to Titus, it does not once occur. Does it follow from this, then, that Paul did not write these epistles? If not, then, supposing the facts alleged by Schulz to be correct, no critical argument could be safely built upon them. But they are so far from being correct, that one finds it difficult to account for it, how any man, who expected others to examine for themselves, and not to receive what he says as *authoritative*, should have thrown out before the public such affirmations as every tyro, with a Greek Concordance in his hand, would be able to disprove. Truly Professor Schulz must not blame his readers, if they are slow and cautious about admitting his allegations, on subjects where accuracy, and diligence, and patience are necessary, in order to produce correct results.

Seyffarth has brought forward the same argument, but with a somewhat different statement of facts; yet full of inaccuracies and errors. He concludes, as the sum of the whole, "that the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews has given to the Saviour appellations, which are indicative of less reverence than those which Paul bestows upon him," and that "there is a great difference between the usage of Paul, in this respect, and that of our epistle," p. 90.

On the whole, nothing can be plainer, than that the usage in our epistle, with respect to the appellations in question, differs no more from the usual Pauline one, than the usage of several of his acknowledged epistles differs from that of others belonging to him. Consequently, no weight can be attached to this objection.

(20.) 'The writer of our epistle has made use of a great

many words and phrases, in order to express ideas which Paul expresses, (either always or usually,) by different words or phrases,' p. 138 seq.

This objection is drawn out at great length, and requires a minuteness of consideration and philological exhibition which is truly appalling. But having commenced the work, it must not be left unfinished. The importance of the subject under discussion, is the apology on which I must rely for justification, as to the length and minuteness of the examination. General assertions may satisfy those who think *in generals*, and reason *in generals*; but the true critic demands *facts*, and of course *detail*, in an investigation dependent on facts.

It will shorten our work, however, and be of no small importance with respect to the satisfaction which the reader's mind is to experience, if some acknowledged, or at least just, principles of reasoning in regard to such a topic, can be premised, before we enter upon particulars.

The following principles seem to be such, as, it may reasonably be expected, will be assented to by all sober and judicious critics; in particular, by all who have not a special end to accomplish by the denial of them.

(a) The same writer, if a man of knowledge and talents, (both of which will be conceded to Paul,) does *not*, in an extensive correspondence either on matters of business or sentiment, *always express the same ideas by the same words or phrases*; much less, always repeat the same ideas, whatever may be the nature of the subject which the occasion demands. I appeal to all the volumes of letters extant, in proof of this.

(b) The same writer, at different periods of life, in different circumstances and states of mind and feeling, exhibits a variety of style in his epistles; especially where the sub-

jects themselves are very diverse. The appeal in proof of this, I make to well-known facts, and to every one's own experience, who has been long accustomed to write letters on a variety of grave and important topics. In particular will the case be as now represented, if a writer's lot, at one period of his life, be cast among men and authors, who differ in style and modes of thinking and expression, from those with whom he has, at another time, been associated.

(c) It follows, then, that differences in the choice of expression, in two epistles, in order to convey the same idea, (above all when this stands in connexion with diverse subjects,) is no good proof that the same person did not, or could not, write both. Indeed, no man who is not a writer of the most sterile genius, and of a mind the most mechanical, nay, absolutely insusceptible of excitement or of improvement, will always limit himself to the same round of expression. While there will be occasional words and expressions, which will mark some characteristics appropriate to a writer of knowledge and talents, yet in the great body of them, there will not be a mechanical sameness either of thought or of expression; but every letter will take its colouring, more or less, from the occasion and the state of mind which prompted it.

(d) If any person refuses to accede to principles so plain and reasonable as these, it would be easy to show him, (as will be seen hereafter,) that any one of Paul's acknowledged epistles may be proved to be spurious, on a different ground, just as easily as the epistle to the Hebrews. Schulz and Seyffarth have undertaken to prove, that Paul did not write the epistle to the Hebrews, because it contains many words, either not employed by Paul, or not employed by him in the same sense; and also some favourite expressions, not found in his acknowledged epistles. At

first view, the number of such words or expressions, as exhibited by them, seems very great; nay, quite appalling, before examination. Most critics of the present day seem to have been influenced principally by this consideration, in giving up the Pauline origin of our epistle. But a widely-extended examination of this subject, has ended in producing different impressions upon my own mind. I am fully persuaded, now, that there is scarcely any one of Paul's *acknowledged* epistles, which cannot be proved to be spurious, if the grounds of argument assumed by the above-named writers is tenable. I will pledge myself (I do not say it at a venture) to produce as many peculiarities, as many ἀπαξ λεγόμενα or ἀπαξ λογιζόμενα, for example, in the epistle to the Romans, in the first to the Corinthians, or in the second to the Corinthians, (in proportion to the length of these epistles, and compared with the other acknowledged epistles of Paul,) as there are in the epistle to the Hebrews. If this can be done, then is the argument equally good against either of these epistles, which are among the most undoubted of all the writings of Paul. The proof of this I shall by and by produce, by laying before the reader the result of the principles which I have ventured to call in question, by applying them to the first epistle of Paul to the Corinthians.

(e) Dr. Schulz himself, who has laboured with so much zeal and confidence to fix upon our epistle the charge of peculiarities in style, expression, and favourite phrases, has, in another part of his work, and before his mind became heated with this subject, made the following remarks, which are well worthy of attention.

“ We give up words, and phrases, and thoughts, [in the epistle to the Hebrews,] which occur but seldom in the books of the New Testament, or in Paul's epistles. We

shall not insist upon the ἀπαξ λεγόμενα or the ἀπαξ λογιζόμενα: for why must a writer of numerous works necessarily repeat, oftentimes, his ideas in general, or his favourite phrases? Why must he often do this in *all* his works, and not use some of them merely in particular passages? Every writer will do the latter, and must do it, when, either by accident or by design, he falls only once upon some particular idea. But in regard to a writer, whose whole works we do not possess, (perhaps only a small part of them,) how can we pronounce sentence upon many phrases and thoughts, or deduce any argument at all from them? And such is the case before us. What now appears, in the letters of Paul still extant, to be ἀπαξ εἰρημένον, he may have said and written numberless times, in works now lost." p. 52.

He then proceeds very justly to ask, 'whether it is the design of any New Testament writer, in any one particular book, to represent the whole scheme of Christian doctrine, complete in all its parts? And if not, whether that, which in one book differs from the contents of another, is to be considered as *departure* or *contradiction*, in respect to that other?' And then he adds, "It is quite surprising, and deserving of reprobation, that any one should call in question expressions against which no objections can be made, when they are consonant with the *usus loquendi*, and are genuine Greek; and also, that any one should produce them as grounds of suspicion against a book, because they do not occur in other compositions of a similar nature. In the epistle to the Hebrews, there are many of this kind." p. 53.

These remarks are no less just than striking. I freely give to them my entire and hearty approbation; and I am willing, with such principles in view, to join issue with the

author, as to his list of words and phrases which he brings forward, in his attack upon our epistle. Nine parts in ten of all that he has advanced, of this nature, would be excluded from the argument, by his own sentence.

To reduce the view, which I must now give of the words and phrases adduced by Schulz, to as short a compass as will be consistent with my design, I shall first remark on those words which require to be separately discussed; and then, I shall class together those to which some general principle will apply in common. I follow mostly the order of Schulz, step by step, merely because this is more convenient for those, who may wish to compare what is here written with the remarks of this author.

I. Words and phrases, instead of which Paul employs other and different ones.

(1.) ‘*Εὐλάβεια*, Heb. v. 7. xii. 28, is used in the sense of *piety*, *devotedness to God*; it is equivalent to *εὐσέβεια* as employed by Paul, 1 Tim. ii. 2. iii. 16, &c. Neither of these writers employs the word used by the other.’ p. 141.

The sense of *εὐλάβεια*, in Heb. v. 7, it is altogether probable; is *fear*, which is the *classical* sense of the word; and this is probably the sense, too, in Heb. xii. 28, as its adjunct *αἰδοῦν* seems to indicate. Schulz’s objection is founded on an exegesis far from being certain, and indeed quite improbable. But if we allow his interpretation to be true, the objection amounts only to this, that Paul, at one time, has employed *εὐσέβεια* (the proper Greek word) in order to express the idea of *piety*; and at another time, in writing to the Hebrews, he has used *εὐλάβεια*, (corresponding to the Heb. *פִּיָּאָה* *reverence, piety*), to express the same idea. What could be more natural for a Hebrew; than to do this?

(2.) ‘Our author uses *διαπαντός*; Paul, *πάντοτε*, and very frequently repeats it.’ p. 141.

Διαπαντός is common among the Evangelists, and in the Septuagint. Paul uses it in the citation from the Old Testament, in Rom. xi. 10. Paul, then, was familiar with the word. In our

epistle, it is found only *twice*; viz. ix. 6. xii. 15. In this same epistle we find the *Pauline πάντοτε* also; viz. in vii. 25. Now as to the epistle to the Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, and 2 Timothy, each has the word *πάντοτε* but *once*; the first epistle to Timothy and that to Titus, not at all. If the fact that *πάντοτε* is used no more than once, is proof that our epistle is not Pauline, then surely these other epistles must be ranked in the same class. The same fact must surely afford the same argument, in both cases. But as this proves more than Schulz is willing to allow, we may suppose he will not insist on such an argument.

(3.) 'Our epistle uses ἀνακαινίζειν and ἐγκαينίζειν: for which Paul employs ἀνακαινούν and ἀνανεοῦσθαι.' p. 142.

Ἀνακαινίζειν occurs only once, Heb. vi. 6. Ἐγκαινίζειν but twice, Heb. ix. 18. x. 20. On the other hand, ἀνακαινούν is found in Paul only twice, 2 Cor. iv. 16. Col. iii. 10; and ἀνανεοῦσθαι but once, Eph. iv. 23. Now as ἀνακαινίζω, ἀνακαινώ, and ἀνανεώ, are all either of classic or Septuagint usage, and are of the same signification, the use of one or the other, so few times as they are employed in the Pauline epistles and in ours, can afford no argument in favour of a different writer. As to ἐγκαινίζειν *to consecrate; to initiate*, it is a verb of a different meaning from the others, and is not used in the sense in which Paul employs either ἀνακαινώ or ἀνανεώ.

(4.) 'There is, in our epistle, an abundance of verbs ending in -ίζω, such as can be no where else found in the New Testament, above all, in Paul's epistles.' p. 142.

(a) The greater part of the verbs in -ίζω, produced by Schulz as appropriate to our epistle, are found often in the New Testament, and in Paul; viz. λογίζεσθαι, in other writers of the New Testament 6 times, in Paul 34, in the epistle to the Hebrews but once; ἐμφανίζειν, in New Testament 8, in Hebrews only twice; καταρτίζειν, New Testament 5, Paul 5, Hebrews 3; καθαρίζειν, New Testament 24, Paul 3, Hebrews 3; κομίζειν, New Testament 5, Paul 3, Hebrews 3; μερίζειν, New Testament 7, Paul 5, Hebrews 1; ὀρίζειν, New Testament 6, Paul 1, Hebrews 1; ἐγγίζειν, New Testament 38, Paul 2, Hebrews 2; χωρίζειν, New Testament 5, Paul 6, Hebrews 1; φωτίζειν, New Testament 5, Paul 4, Hebrews 2; καθίζειν, New Testament 40,

Paul 4, Hebrews 4; *χηματίζεσθαι*, New Testament 5, Paul 1, Hebrews 3. All these verbs, moreover, are common to the Septuagint and to classic Greek.

(b) Other verbs of this class, adduced by Schulz, are used in our epistle only once; viz. *ἀναλογίζεσθαι*, xii. 3; *ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι*, xii. 4; *καταγωνίζεσθαι*, xi. 33; *θεαρίζειν*, x. 33; *πρίζειν*, xi. 37; and *τυμπανίζεσθαι*, xi. 35. The three last are *denominatives*, for which the Greek language offered no other forms; so that no choice, in this case, was left to the writer. All of them are of classic or Septuagint usage.

(c) *Προσχοθίζειν*, Heb. iii. 10, is a quotation from the Septuagint; of which the use of the same word, in iii. 17, is a simple repetition.

It turns out, then, that of the *great multitude* of words in *-ίζω*, *peculiar* to our epistle, only six are employed, exclusively by it; and of these six, three are *denominatives*, and *necessarily* employed, as there was no choice of other forms; while the other three occur but *once* each, and are all compound verbs, common to the Septuagint and to the classics. But Schulz has not ventured to present us with a view of the numerous verbs in *-ίζω*, employed by the New Testament writers and by Paul, which are *not* used at all in our epistle. Selecting only under a single letter, (as a specimen of what might be gathered from the whole,) we find the following, *κυθοπλίζομαι*, *καταβιβάζομαι*, *καταδικάζω*, *κατακλύζομαι*, *κατακρημνίζω*, *καταλιθάζω*, *καταναθεματίζω*, *καταποντίζομαι*, *κατεξουσιάζω*, *κατεργάζομαι*, *κατοπτρίζομαι*, *κανματίζω*, *καντηριάζομαι*, *κλάζω*, *κιθαρίζω*, *κλυδωνίζομαι*, *κολάζομαι*, *κολαφίζω*, *κοπάζω*, *κομφίζω*, *κράζω*, *κραυγάζω*, *κρυσταλλίζω*, *κρίζω*; *twenty-four* under only one letter; which our author, with all his alleged partialities for *-ίζω*, never uses. Surely this is an argument unfortunately chosen, and very incorrectly stated.

(5.) ‘*Ἐντέλλεσθαι* is used in our epistle; Paul uses *παραγγέλλω*, *διατάσσω*, or *ἐπιτάσσω*.’ p. 145.

Ἐντέλλεσθαι is employed only twice, ix. 20. xi. 22. In the New Testament it is used 15 times, although not employed by Paul. Paul employs *παραγγέλλω* only in 1 Corinthians, 1 Thessalonians, 2 Thessalonians, and 1 Timothy; *διατάσσω*, only in 1 Corinthians, Galatians, and Titus; *ἐπιτάσσω* only once in Philemon.

Do not these words differ as much from each other, as each of them does from ἐντέλλεσθαι; and will not the reasoning be the same, to prove that Galatians and Titus or Philemon are spurious, as that our epistle is? And what shall be said of all those epistles, where none of these words are at all employed?

(6.) 'Our author employs καθίζω in a *neuter* sense, i. 3. viii. 1. x. 12. xii. 2; Paul employs this verb in a *transitive* sense.' p. 143.

In the quotation by Paul, 1 Cor. x. 7, it is used in a *neuter* sense; as it is in 2 Thess. ii. 4. It has a *transitive* sense only in 1 Cor. vi. 4. Eph. i. 20. It occurs in no other case, in Paul, so that his usage is equally divided. In our epistle, it occurs in the same formula, in all the four instances where it is employed; and all of these instances refer to Ps. cx. 1, (Sept. cix. 1,) where is the like usage of κάθου.

(7.) 'Abstract appellations of God, such as θρόνος τῆς χάριτος, πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος, θρόνος τῆς μεγαλοσύνης, are unheard of in Paul's writings.' p. 144.

What then is πνεῦμα ἀγιοσύνης, Rom. i. 4; θειότης, i. 20; ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, *true God*, i. 25; also ψεῦδος, *false god*, *ibid.*; and πνεῦμα ζωῆς, viii. 2? Is the usage of employing *abstract* words for *concrete ones*, foreign to the style of Paul? Every one who reads this apostle with attention, will be able to answer this question.

(8.) 'Our epistle calls Christ ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης, i. 3; Paul says, εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀοράτου, 2 Cor. iv. 4. Col. i. 15, and μορφή Θεοῦ in Phil. ii. 6.' p. 144.

Is not μορφή Θεοῦ as different from εἰκὼν Θεοῦ ἀοράτου, as ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης is, from the same? And if this argument prove any thing, does it not prove that the epistle to the Philip-pians, which employs μορφή Θεοῦ, (and not εἰκὼν Θεοῦ,) must also be spurious?

(9.) 'In our epistle, κακονχέω is used, xi. 37. xiii. 3; Paul uses θλίβω instead of this.' p. 145.

Paul uses στενοχωρέομαι three times, in his second epistle to the Corinthians, (and not once any where else,) to express the same idea that he elsewhere expresses by θλίβω. Is this epistle therefore spurious?

(10.) 'Our epistle employs ἐνθύμησις and ἔννοια, for which Paul uses διαλογισμός and λογισμός.' p. 145.

Λογισμός is found 2 Cor. x. 4.; but διαλογισμός in Romans, first Corinthians, Philippians, and first Timothy. Is the second Corinthians spurious, because it does not use διαλογισμός?

(11.) 'Our epistle uses ἀκλινής; for which Paul employs ἐδραῖος, ἀμετακίνητος, or μὴ μετακινούμενος.' p. 145.

Ἀκλινής is used once only, Heb. x. 23. So ἀμετακίνητος is used only in 1 Cor. xv. 58, and μὴ μετακινούμενος only in Col. i. 23. Now as in first Corinthians and in Colossians both, Paul uses ἐδραῖος as well as these words, in order to express the same idea, shall the like choice of a synonyme, in another letter, be denied him? And is it reasonable that it should expose his letter to the charge of spuriousness, because that, out of various synonymes, he has sometimes taken one, and sometimes another?

(12.) 'Συμπαθεῖν, μετριοπαθεῖν, and παθεῖν, are current in our epistle; Paul uses συμπάσχειν and πάσχειν.' p. 145.

Paul uses πάσχειν five times only, in four of which the *present* tense is required, and of course this form must be used, as there is no present παθέω. He also employs ἐπάθετε twice; viz. in Gal. iii. 4. and 1 Thess. ii. 14. Our epistle has this same form, but only *three* times, v. 8. ix. 26. xiii. 12. Here then are the same forms, in both Paul and our epistle. Besides, are not πάσχω, συμπάσχω, and συμπαθέω, commingled forms, and every where exchanged for each other? As to μετριοπαθεῖν, it is used but once, Heb. v. 2, and is there employed in its *classical* sense.

(13.) 'In our epistle, we find μετέσχε, κατάσχωμεν; but in Paul, μετέχειν, κατέχειν.' p. 145.

Once only is μετέσχε used, Heb. ii. 14. On the other hand, the *Pauline* μετέχων is also employed once, in Heb. v. 13. Besides, in all Paul's acknowledged epistles, μετέχω occurs only five times, and all of these are in the first epistle to the Corinthians. Is this the only epistle which is genuine?

As to κατάσχωμεν, it is found in our epistle only twice, iii. 6. iii. 14; while the alleged Pauline κατέχειν is also used in x. 43. Besides, are not both of these one and the same verb, in different tenses? And may not the writer of different epistles employ even a different tense of the same verb, when the case demands it,

without hazarding the reputation of his letters in respect to genuineness?

(14.) 'Verbal nouns feminine, particularly such as end in *-ous*, are unusually frequent in our epistle; and, when put in the accusative by *eis*, they are employed instead of the inf. mode with *eis rò* before it; which latter is the construction that Paul employs, even to excess, and in a manner not consentaneous with Greek idiom.' p. 146.

Paul is no stranger to the employment of nouns in *-ous* with *eis* before them in the acc., in the sense of the inf. mode with *eis rò*; e. g. Rom. i. 17. iii. 25. v. 18. xiv. 1. 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25. In regard to other fem. nouns, put in the acc. with *eis*, and used as the inf. with *eis rò*, see Rom. i. 5. 16. iii. 7. v. 16. vi. 19. 22. ix. 21 bis, 22, 23. x. 1. 10. xi. 9. xv. 18. xvi. 26. 1 Cor. i. 9. ii. 7. v. 5. x. 31. xvi. 15. All these cases have respect to nouns fem. only; very many cases might be added of nouns of the masculine form, employed in the same way. The above instances of the feminine forms are selected from only *two* epistles of Paul. I have found more than forty cases, of the same kind, in his remaining acknowledged epistles.

On the other hand; as to the excessive and unclassical use of the inf. with *eis rò*, by Paul, I do not find it to be as Schulz has stated it. In Romans, I find fifteen cases of infinitives with *eis rò*; in 1 Cor. there are five cases; in 2 Cor. there are four; in Gal. one; in Eph. three; in Phil. four; in Col. not one; in 1 Tim., 2 Tim., Titus, and Philemon, not one. But in our epistle, we have the inf. with *eis rò*, in ii. 17. vii. 25. viii. 3. ix. 14. 28. x. 2 (*διὰ rò*), x. 15 (*μερὰ rò*), xii. 10. xiii. 21; i. e. seven cases, just the same as the Pauline ones, and two more (x. 2. 15.) of the same nature. If the want of *frequency* with respect to this construction proves the spuriousness of our epistle; what does the same thing prove, in respect to the longer epistle, called the first to the Corinthians, which exhibits it only *five* times? And what is to be said of the five epistles named above, which do not at all exhibit this *favourite* construction of Paul?

In regard to the frequency of nouns ending in *-ous*, the proportion is not greater than in several of the Pauline epistles; as any one may determine by consulting a Greek Concordance.

(15.) 'Our epistle uses *παροξυσμός*; Paul *ἐξήλος*.' p. 148.

Παροξυσμός is used only once, Heb. x. 24, and there not in the sense of *ἐξήλος*.

(16.) 'Our epistle uses *πρεσβύτεροι* for *ancients*; Paul uses *πατέρες*.' p. 149.

Paul uses *πατέρες*, in this way, only in Rom. ix. 5. xi. 28. xv. 8. As to *πρεσβύτεροι*, it is a common word for *אֲנִישֵׁי*, *ancients*, Matt. xv. 2. Mark vii. 3. 5. also Sept. What should hinder Paul from selecting either of these synonymes at his pleasure?

(17.) 'Our author uses *προβλέπομαι*; Paul uses *προετοιμάζω*, *προορίζω*, *προρίθηναι*. Our author uses *ἀντικαθίστημι*; Paul *ἀνθίστημι*,' p. 149.

Προβλέπομαι occurs only in xi. 40, and is synonymous, in some of its meanings, with the other verbs named. Besides, is there not as much departure from *uniformity*, in employing the several words, *προετοιμάζω*, *προορίζω*, *προρίθηναι*, as there is in using *προβλέπομαι*? And is not *ἀντικαθίστημι* a classic and Sept. word, and synonymous with *ἀνθίστημι*? Must a writer never employ but one and the same word?

II. Words employed in the epistle to the Hebrews in a sense different from that in which Paul uses them.

Some of the objections, drawn from words of this class, have already been noticed above.

(18.) '*Μακροθυμία*, *μακροθυμεῖν* means *patient waiting* or *expectation*, in our epistle; in Paul, it means *lenity towards others*.' p. 150.

Paul employs it in other senses than that of *lenity*. E. g. Col. i. 11, *patient endurance of evil*; so 2 Tim. iii. 10 prob. iv. 2, see Wahl's Lex. In the same sense it is probably used, in Heb. vi. 12. 15. But if this be not allowed; it is enough to say that *μακροθυμία*, in the sense of *patient expectation*, is agreeable to Hellenistic usage. See Job vii. 16 Sept., and James v. 7, 8.

(19.) '*Καταλείπεσθαι* and *ἀπολείπεσθαι* are used, by our author, in the sense of *restitute*, *reliquum esse*; they are not so used by Paul.' p. 150.

Καταλείπεσθαι is used, *actively*, in the like sense, in Rom. xi. 4;

and this sense is classic and Hellenistic. *Ἀπολείπεσθαι* is used in the active voice by Paul, in 2 Tim. iv. 13. 20, in a sense as kindred to the use of it in our epistle (where it is *passive*), as one of these voices can be to the other, in regard to a verb of this nature.

(20.) *ὑπόστασις*, in our epistle, has a different sense from that in Paul's epistles.' p. 150.

I am not able to perceive the difference between *ὑπόστασις* in 2 Cor. ix. 4. xi. 17, and in Heb. iii. 14. xi. 1. These are all the instances in which this word is employed by Paul or in our epistle, excepting Heb. i. 3, where the word is used in the classical sense of the later Greek writers. See Wahl's Lex. on *ὑπόστασις*.

(21.) *Ἄλογος*, in Hebrews, means *word given, assurance, declaration*; in Paul, *doctrine, command, word* in opposition to *deed*.' p. 150.

So in Heb. xiii. 7, *λόγος* means *doctrine*, as also in v. 13. vi. 1. On the other hand, in 1 Cor. xv. 54, it means *assurance* or *declaration*; as also in Rom. ix. 6. 9. 1 Cor. iv. 19. 2 Cor. i. 18. 1 Tim. i. 15. iii. 1. iv. 9. Surely there is no ground for distinction here. In the sense of *account*, too, Paul and our epistle agree; e.g. Rom. xiv. 12. Heb. iv. 13. xiii. 17.

(22.) *Τάξις*, in Hebrews, means *series, succession*; Paul uses it for *good order, arrangement*.' p. 150.

Τάξις, in the Septuagint, answers to תִּרְדָּה *prescribed order or arrangement*, Prov. xxix. 24 [xxxi. 26]; to עֲרֵךְ, Job xxviii. 13, Aquila's translation. In the Sept. Job xxiv. 5. xxxvi. 28, it has the sense of *prescribed arrangement*. This sense fits, equally well, 1 Cor. xiv. 40. Col. ii. 5. and all the cases where it is used in our epistle; viz. v. 6. 10. vi. 20. vii. 11. 17. 21, all of which are merely the same instance of *τάξις* repeated. But, even if this exegesis be not admitted, still, it is enough to say, that *τάξις* is employed in both the senses named by Schulz, in the Septuagint Greek, and also in classic authors. May not Paul, like any other writer, employ the word, in different parts of his writings, (as he does a multitude of other words,) with different shades of meaning?

(23.) *Πλείων* is used by our author in the sense of *præstantior*; by Paul, only for *more*.' p. 151.

In Heb. iii. 3. vii. 23, *πλείων* is used in the sense of *more*; cer-

tainly in the last instance. On the other hand, in the sense of *præstantior*, it occurs only once, xi. 4. And this sense is supported both by classic and Septuagint usage.

III. Favourite expressions, and peculiar phraseology.

Of these, Schulz has collected together a great number; so great, that if they are truly what he names them, they must render the genuineness of our epistle *suspected*, to every critical reader. But whether he has rightly attributed to these words and expressions the characteristics which he gives them, remains to be examined.

(24.) 'The use of *γὰρ*, in our epistle, is excessive; so much so, that a translator, if he means to avoid misleading his readers, must often pass it over unnoticed. Paul is less frequent in the use of this particle; and employs it only in cases where it has a meaning.' p. 152.

In the New Testament before me, the epistle of Paul to the Romans occupies fourteen pages; that to the Hebrews, ten. In Romans, I find *γὰρ* one hundred and forty-five times, i. e. on an average, more than ten to a page; in our epistle, I find it ninety-one times, i. e. on an average, a little more than nine to a page. So much for this *favourite* particle of the author of our epistle.

(25.) 'The words *προσφέρειν* and *προσφορά*, are used times almost without number, in our epistle, in respect to Christ's offering up himself before God, by means of his death; Paul does not use the verb at all, nor the noun but once, Eph. v. 2, in this sense.' p. 153.

These words are employed in respect to the offering by Christ, in Heb. ix. 14. 25. 28. x. 10. 12. 14. *six* instances; which, considering the nature of the comparison between Christ's death and the Jewish offerings, is rather to be wondered at for *unfrequent*, than for frequent occurrence. But is it not truly surprising, that Schulz should produce, as examples which have respect to the *offering* made by the *death of Christ*, *προσφέρειν* and *προσφορά* in Heb. v. 1. 3. 7. viii. 3, 4. ix. 7. 9. x. 1, 2. 5. 8. 11. 18. xi. 4. 17. xii. 7? all of which refer to *Jewish* offerings, excepting xii. 7, which has wholly another sense. Nor is the language of our

epistle limited to προσφέρειν and προσφορά. The writer uses ἀναφέρω, in vii. 27 bis, ix. 28. xiii. 15; which is also used by other New Testament writers, e. g. James ii. 21. 1 Pet. ii. 5. 24. As to the *frequency* with which προσφορά is used, it is found only in five instances; two of these (x. 5. 8) are quotations from the Old Testament; and the other three, (x. 10. 14. 18,) are all plainly occasioned by the quotations just named, as they are employed in reasoning upon it. No where else, in our epistle, does the writer use this word; but he employs θυσία no less than fifteen times, which word Paul has also employed five times. Considering the nature of the discussion in our epistle, is there any ground for the objection made by Schulz?

(26.) ‘Ἐγγιζειν τῷ Θεῷ, and προσέρχεσθαι τῷ Θεῷ are frequent forms in our epistle; but not so in Paul.’ p. 153.

The first of these phrases occurs only once, vii. 19. The *frequency* of it, therefore, should not have been alleged. But the same verb as applied to *time*, is used in Heb. x. 25, and in Rom. xiii. 12. That Ἐγγιζειν τῷ Θεῷ was a usual form of Hebrew Greek, is evident from James iv. 8.

In respect to προσέρχεσθαι, it is nearly a synonyme with Ἐγγιζειν, and is used a great number of times in the New Testament, and by Paul in 1 Tim. vi. 3, but in the figurative sense of *attending to, giving heed to*. The use of it in our epistle, (it is employed seven times,) is occasioned by its correspondence with the Hebrew בִּיקֵּרָה, which describes *the action of approaching God with an offering*; an idea which, from the nature of the comparisons instituted, must of necessity frequently occur.

(27.) ‘Such forms as λ α μ β α ν ε ι ν πείραν—μισθαποδοσίαν—ἀρχήν—τιμήν—νεκρούς—ἐπαγγελίαν—ἐπαγγελίας, are frequent, and peculiar to our epistle.’ p. 153.

In Paul, too, we have λ α μ β α ν ε ι ν χάριν—ἀποστολήν—σημεῖον—καταλλαγὴν—περισσεύαν—ἀφορμήν—πνεῦμα—δουλείας—πνεῦμα υἰοθεσίας—κρίμα—πνεῦμα τοῦ κόσμου—μισθόν—βραβεῖον—στέφανον—ἄρτον—οἰκοδομήν—ὁψώνιον—ὑμᾶς—πρόσωπον—ἐπαγγελίαν—μορφήν—ἐντολήν—ὑπόμνησιν. Is not this equally peculiar?

(28.) ‘Διαθήκη, and the compounds and derivates of τιθέναι are unusually frequent in our epistle.’ p. 154.

Διαθήκη is employed by Paul, nine times; but in our epistle, where the nature of the comparison lies between the old covenant and the new, the more frequent use of this word was altogether to be expected. Out of the seventeen instances, however, in which our author uses it, six are quoted from the Old Testament, viz. viii. 8, 9 bis, 10. ix. 20. x. 16; and three more are in phrases transferred from the Old Testament, viz. ix. 4 bis, x. 29; so that eight instances only belong properly to our author's style. Could a less number than this be rationally expected, considering the nature of the discussion?

As to the uncommonly frequent use of the compounds and derivatives of *τίθημι*, in our epistle, the following is the result of comparison. Διατίθημι, four times in Hebrews, two of which are in quotations, viz. viii. 10. x. 16. In the other two cases, the word is employed in a sense different from the one usual in the New Testament, viz. ix. 16, 17. Μεράθεως is one of the ἀπαξ λεγόμενα of our epistle; (see on these § 29). Μερατίθημι is used three times; also in Gal. i. 6; ἀθερεῖν, Hebrews once, Paul six times; ἀθήρσις, Hebrews twice; νομοθερεῖν, Hebrews twice (νομοθεσία in Rom. ix. 4); ἐπίθεσις, Hebrews once, Paul twice; πρόθεσις, Hebrews once, Paul six times; ἀποτίθημι, Hebrews once, Paul four times. Can the position of Schulz be supported, when the result of investigation turns out thus?

(29.) 'Τελειοῦν, to bring to perfection, to advance to the highest mark, is a favourite expression of our epistle.' p. 154.

It is so employed in ii. 10. v. 9. vii. 28. xii. 23; but in a different acceptation in vii. 19. ix. 9. x. 1. 14. xi. 40; perhaps the last instance belongs to the other category. To the former alleged peculiar sense of τελειόω, Paul is no stranger, Phil. iii. 12. comp. 2 Cor. xii. 9. Other Hellenists, also, employ it in the same manner; Luke xiii. 32. The derivate forms, τελειώσις and τελειότης, vii. 11. xii. 2, occur once only in this epistle. Τελειώσις, also in Luke i. 45.

(30.) 'Κρείττω is employed frequently, by our author, in a sense altogether peculiar, viz. in the sense of more excellent.' p. 154.

In the same sense Paul uses it, 1 Cor. xii. 31; a sense, moreover, which is common to classic and Hellenistic usage.

(31.) 'Αἰώνιος is unusually frequent; e. g. αἰώνιος joined with σωτηρία—κρίμα—πνεῦμα—λύτρωσις—κληρονομία—διαθήκη, &c.' p. 154.

But Paul uses αἰώνιος ζωή—χρόνος—Θεός—βάρος—αἰώνια βλέπομενα—αἰώνιος ὀλεθρος—παράκλησις—κράτος—δόξη. Paul uses the word twenty-four times; our epistle only *six*.

(32.) 'Ζωή and ζῆν are used very frequently by our author, to denote *perpetuity*, *lasting continuance*.' p. 155.

So they are by Paul; e. g. Rom. ix. 26. 2 Cor. iii. 3. vi. 16. 1 Thess. i. 9. 1 Tim. iii. 15. iv. 10; and this sense is frequent in the New Testament.

(33.) 'The frequent use of πᾶς in the *singular*, in our epistle, is striking.' p. 155.

Our epistle makes ten pages in the edition of the New Testament lying before me; and I find πᾶς, in the singular, sixteen times in it, i. e. on an average, about once and a half to each page. The epistle to the Ephesians makes four and a half pages, and I find the same πᾶς in it twenty-three times, i. e. on an average more than five times to each page. So much for the *strikingly frequent* use of πᾶς in our epistle!

(34.) 'The words ὁθεν, χωρίς, ἐάνπερ, and ἀδύνατον, are unusually frequent in our epistle.' p. 155.

Ὅθεν is not used in the acknowledged epistles of Paul, (see, in respect to ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, § 29;) but in the New Testament it is common. Χωρίς Paul uses fifteen times. Ἐάνπερ is peculiar to Hebrews, and occurs thrice. Ἀδύνατον is employed four times in our epistle, twice by Paul, and four times by the other writers of the New Testament.

(35.) 'Compounds of words with εὖ, are *favourite* forms with our author.' p. 155.

The following results will show how far this is well founded. Εὐθερος occurs in Hebrews *once*; εὐθύτης, *once*; εὐάρεστον, Hebrews 1, Paul 8; εὐαρεστέω, Hebrews 3; εὐαρεστῶς, Hebrews 1; εὐλάβεια, Hebrews 2; εὐλαβέομαι, Hebrews 1; εὐποιᾶ, Hebrews 1; εὐπερίστατος, Hebrews 1; εὐλογία, Hebrews 2, Paul 9; εὐλογεῖν, Hebrews 6, Paul 8; εὐκαιρος, Hebrews 1; εὐδοκεῖν, Hebrews 3, Paul 11.

On the other hand, compare the compounds of this sort in Paul,

which do not occur in our epistle ; viz. *εὐγενής, εὐαγγέλιον, εὐαγγελιστής, εὐδοκία, εὐεργεσία, εὐθέως, εὐκαιρέω, εὐκαιρως, εὐλογητός, εὐνοια, εὐμετάδοτος, εὐδοῦμαι, εὐπρόσδεκτος, εὐπρόσεδρος, εὐπροσωπῶς, εὐσέβεια, εὐσεβεῖν, εὐσεβῶς, εὐσημος, εὐσπλαγχνος, εὐσχημόνως, εὐσχημόνη, εὐσχημων, εὐτραπेलία, εὐφημιά, εὐφημος, εὐφραίνω, εὐχαριστέω, εὐχαριστία, εὐχάριστος, εὐχρηστος, εὐψυχέω, εὐωδία*. Can there be any foundation, now, for the assertion of Schulz?

(36.) ‘Compounds with *ἀνά* are unusually frequent, in our author.’ p. 156.

The fact stands thus. *Once* only are *ἀναδέχομαι, ἀναθεωρῶ, ἀνακαινίζω, ἀνάγω, ἀνακάμπω, ἀναλογίζομαι, ἀνασταυρόω, ἀνατέλλω*, used in our epistle. ‘*Ἀναφέρω* is employed four times. In Paul, on the other hand, we find, *ἀναβαίνω* 7, *ἀναγγέλλω* 2, *ἀναγινώσκω* 8, *ἀνάγνωσις* 2, *ἀνάγω* 1, *ἀναζάω* 2, *ἀναζωπυρέω* 1, *ἀναθάλλω* 1, *ἀνάθεμα* 5, *ἀνακαίνωσις* 2, *ἀνακαινίω* 1, *ἀνακαλύπτω* 2, *ἀνακεφαλαιοῦμαι* 2, *ἀνακόπτω* 2, *ἀνακρίνω* 10, *ἀναλαμβάνω* 4, *ἀνάλυσις* 1, *ἀναλύω* 1, *ἀναλίσκω* 1, *ἀναλογία* 1, *ἀναμένω* 1, *ἀνανεόω* 1, *ἀνανήφω* 1; *ἀνάξιος* 1, *ἀναξίως* 2, *ἀναπαύω* 4, *ἀναπέμπω* 1, *ἀναπολόγητος* 2, *ἀναπληρόω* 5, *ἀναστατόω* 1, *ἀνατίθημι* 1, *ἀνατρέπω* 2, *ἀναψύχω* 1; all of which are wanting in the epistle to the Hebrews. Is there any *want of frequency*, in compounds of this sort, in the writings of Paul? Rather is there not even a *want of frequency*, with respect to words of this class, in our epistle?

(37.) ‘Good periods, with comparisons by *ὅσον—τοσοῦτο*, with *εἰ γάρ—πῶς δέ*, with *καθώς*, &c. are not so frequent in Paul’s writings as here.’ p. 156.

In what other epistle has Paul had so frequent occasion for comparisons?

(38.) ‘*Σωτηρία*, in the sense of *Christian happiness*, is peculiar to our epistle. ‘*Ἀντιλογία* is also peculiar.’ p. 156.

(a) Our epistle does not limit the word *σωτηρία* to such a sense. It is employed in its usual acceptation, in ii. 10. xi. 7, and probably in v. 9. vi. 9. ix. 28. On the other hand, Paul uses *σωτηρία* for *Christian happiness*, Rom. x. 1. 10. xi. 11. Eph. i. 13. 1 Thess. v. 8, 9. 2 Thess. ii. 13. 2 Tim. iii. 15. (b) As to *ἀντιλογία*, it is not found, it is true, in Paul’s acknowledged epistles; but it is in Jude v. 11; and the verb *ἀντιλέγω*, is in Rom. x. 21. Tit. i. 9. ii. 9.

(39.) 'Μαρτυρεῖν and μαρτυρεῖσθαι, in the sense of *bearing honorary testimony*, are *peculiar* to our epistle.' p. 156.

They are not. See Rom. x. 2. 1 Tim. v. 10; and often in the gospels, as may be seen in any of the New Testament lexicons.

(40.) 'The following habitual expressions, so often employed by Paul, are wanting in our epistle; viz. οὐ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν—θέλω ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι—τοῦτο δέ φημι—γνωρίζω (γνωρίζομεν) δὲ ὑμῖν—οἶδα γάρ—οἶδαμεν δέ &c.—γινώσκειν δὲ ὑμᾶς βούλομαι—τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν—ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τις—ἐπεὶ οὖν μοι—ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε—μὴ γένοιτο—τί οὖν—τί γάρ—ἄρα οὖν—μενοῦνγε.' p. 157 seq.

If the want of these forms of expression in our epistle proves it to be spurious, then the same argument must prove a great part of Paul's epistles to be so. E. g. οὐ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν is not in Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, 2 Thessalonians, 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon. *Favourite* as Schulz represents this phrase to be, it is found only in Romans twice, 1 Corinthians twice; and in 2 Corinthians, οὐ γὰρ θέλομεν ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν once.

Θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι is once in 1 Cor. xi. 3, and wanting in all the other Pauline epistles; an expression, therefore, *singularly* favourite.

Τοῦτο δέ φημι is in 1 Corinthians twice, and wanting in all the rest of Paul's works.

Γνωρίζω (γνωρίζομεν) δὲ ὑμῖν, Paul uses four times. The verb is employed some twenty times, in all his epistles, but not in the formula mentioned by Schulz.

Οἶδα, οἶδαμεν, &c. is used often by Paul, indeed unusually so; in our epistle less frequently. In x. 30 we have οἶδαμεν, and five other cases of derivatives from εἶδω or εἰδέω occur.

Γινώσκειν δὲ ὑμᾶς βούλομαι, occurs only in Phil. i. 12.

Τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν, in Romans six times, and no where else. Which then is spurious, the epistle to the Romans, or all the others?

Ἐπεὶ οὖν μοι, only twice, Rom. ix. 19. xi. 19.

Ἐπεὶ τις, only *once*, 1 Cor. xv. 37.

Ἡ ἀγνοεῖτε, only twice, Rom. vi. 3. vii. 1.

Μὴ γένοιτο, only in Galatians and Romans.

Τί γάρ, not in Galatians, Ephesians, Colossians, first Thessalonians, second Thessalonians, first Timothy, second Timothy, Titus.

Τί οὖν, not in any of Paul's epistles, except Romans, first Corinthians and Galatians.

*Απα οὖν, only in the epistle to the Romans, Galatians once, Ephesians once, first Thessalonians once, second Thessalonians once. *Απα is used by our author too, iv. 9. xii. 8.

Μενοῦνγε, in Romans, Philippians; but no where else in Paul's epistles.

Certain is it, then, that the same argument which would prove the spuriousness of our epistle, would also prove the spuriousness of more or less of Paul's acknowledged epistles; for there is not a single phrase mentioned by Schulz, in all his list of "favourite expressions often repeated by Paul," which is not wanting in more or less of his acknowledged epistles. The words *οἶδα*, *οἶδαμεν*, &c. only, are to be excepted. Many of these *favouritisms* we see, too, upon examination, turn out to belong only to some *single* epistle; e. g. θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι, τοῦτο δὲ φημι, γινώσκειν δὲ ὑμᾶς βούλομαι, τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν, ἐρεῖς οὖν μοι, ἐπεὶ τίς, and ἡ ἀγνοεῖτε. It is difficult to conceive how a man of Schulz's intelligence, could willingly risk the hazard of such arguments as these.

I have omitted no argument of a philological nature, which Dr. Schulz has brought forward, excepting a few *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα*, of which I shall hereafter take notice. If the reader hesitates in regard to the sufficiency of some parts of the answers to Schulz, which I have laid before him, I request him to suspend his decision, until he shall have read through the sequel; in which the general method of argument used by Schulz and Seyffarth, will be the subject of further observation. Before I proceed to this, however, the allegations of Seyffarth, (in cases wherein they differ from those of Schulz, and from those made by Bertholdt and others, which have already been examined,) must be considered. I do not aim at writing a *regular review* of Seyffarth's whole book; but merely to pass in review such arguments of his, as have not already been examined, omitting only those, on which it cannot well be supposed that he placed any important reliance.

§ 28. *Objections of Seyffarth examined.*

I shall first examine the objections drawn from the alleged “peculiarity of the matters treated of” in our epistle.

(1.) ‘Paul concerns himself only with those churches he himself established. He was not the founder of any church purely Hebrew. The person who, in our epistle, addresses the Hebrews, must have sustained a relation to them very different from that which Paul sustained.’ § 47.

Is any thing plainer, however, through the whole epistle, than the fact, that the writer of it was not a founder or bishop of the church whom he addresses? Not a hint of either of these relations is discoverable. The circumstances, then, agree altogether with the condition of Paul, who did not found, or preside over, the Hebrew churches.

But the assumption, that Paul never concerned himself with any churches of which he was not himself the founder, is manifestly erroneous. Did not this apostle write his epistle to the Romans, before he ever saw Rome? See Rom. i. 13. xv. 24. Are not the expressions, in this epistle, as affectionate and as authoritative, to say the least, as in the epistle to the Hebrews? Paul, surely, had a very deep sympathy and tender concern for his Jewish brethren. See Rom. ix. 1 seq. x. 1 seq. xi. 1 seq. Compare, for expressions of kindness, Heb. vi. 10 seq. x. 32 seq., in particular v. 34, if the reading *δυσμοῖς μου* be adopted; and Titmann, in his recent edition of the New Testament, has adopted it.

(2.) ‘Paul no where treats formally of the dignity of Jesus; nor does he any where employ such arguments as our epistle exhibits, against defection from Christianity.’ p. 104.

Paul no where else treats of the resurrection, in such a manner as the 1 Cor. xv. does; nor of many other subjects, discussed in that epistle; does it follow, that Paul did not write the first epistle to the Corinthians, because it has these *peculiarities*? Besides, the fact is not correctly stated by Seyffarth. Surely Rom. ix. 5. Eph. i. 20—23. Phil. ii. 6—11. Col. i. 13—19, contain something about the dignity of Christ; not to mention many other passages. That the apostle has no where, except in our epistle, entered into a formal comparison of Christ with others, is true; but it is enough to say, that no where else did the occasion demand it.

(3.) 'Paul every where inveighs against Jewish opinions; urges justification *χωρίς ἔργων νόμου*, and *ἐκ πίστεως*; dwells on the glorious advent of the Messiah; and urges the equal right of the Gentiles to the blessings of the Christian religion. Not a word of all this, in the epistle to the Hebrews.' p. 105.

And where is there any thing of all this, in the first epistle to the Corinthians? Must a writer always speak of the very same subjects, and in the same way? And if he does not, but speaks *pro re nata*, is it any just ground of suspicion, that such of his letters as are not exactly like certain other ones, cannot be genuine?

(4.) 'It is wonderful, that our epistle should represent the devil as the cause of death, ii. 14; Paul knows nothing of such a cause, see 2 Tim. i. 10. 1 Cor. xv. 55.' p. 106.

This objection is built on an exegesis of Heb. ii. 14, which cannot be supported; see the Commentary on this passage. But if the exegesis were correct, it would not follow, that the apostle might not, in one passage, express a sentiment which he has no where else expressed. See for example, 1 Cor. xv. 22—28. After all, it is ne

Paul does not recognise Satan as the author of the condemning sentence which Adam incurred; see 1 Tim. ii. 13, 14. 2 Cor. xi. 3, comp. with Rom. v. 12 seq.

(5.) 'Paul, when he writes to any church, enters into a particular consideration of all their wants, and woes, and dangers; e. g. in his epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians.' p. 107 seq.

And does Paul any where show a deeper sympathy for those whom he addresses, than the writer of our epistle exhibits? Must every epistle which a man writes, be *de omni scibili*, or *de omni re possibili*? As Paul was not bishop of the church whom he addresses in our epistle, it was not to be expected that he would use the same degree of freedom, in all respects, which he uses in some others of his epistles. Particularly, may we well suppose, that he would be sparing in localities and personalities, if his epistle was designed to be *encyclical*; as we have good reason to believe it was.

(6.) 'Our epistle every where urges to τελειότητα; not so Paul. With our author, too, the sonship of Christ is the great τελειότης of religion; not so in Paul. See 1 Cor. iii. 11, where it is reckoned as the *foundation*. Where too has Paul compared Christ to the angels?' p. 110.

That Paul does not urge forward those whom he addresses, to a higher degree of Christian knowledge and virtue, is an allegation which I believe to be *novel*, and which needs to be met only when something is brought forward to substantiate it. As to the doctrine of Christ's *Sonship* being reckoned as the *foundation* of Christianity, I find nothing of it in 1 Cor. iii. 11, where Christ, in his mediatorial person or character simply, is presented. That Paul's acknowledged epistles have not run a parallel between Christ and the angels, is true enough; but how are

we to show that Paul never could do this in one epistle, because he has not done it in another?

(7.) 'There is more pure and continuous argument in our epistle, than in those of Paul.'

There is more pure and continuous argument in the epistle to the Romans, than there is in the epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians; but is this any proof, that Paul did not write the latter epistles? And must the tenor of all the epistles which any man writes, however diverse the occasion and the subject may be, always be one and the same?

(8.) 'Paul cites the Old Testament with great freedom, at one time following the Septuagint, and at another, the Hebrew. Our author keeps close to the Septuagint.'

The case is too strongly stated. It is not exactly correct, in either respect. But if it were, it does not follow, that in writing to those who had the Greek Scriptures in their own hands, and were habitually conversant with them, Paul would not keep closer than usual to the words of the ancient oracles. It is altogether natural that he should do so.

I. Objections drawn from peculiar phrases.

(9.) 'The following phrases are *sui generis*, and *maxime peculiare*, in our epistle; viz. διαφορώτερον ὄνομα κληρονομεῖν, εἶναι εἰς πατέρα, δόξῃ στεφανοῦν, πεποιθότα εἶναι, ἀρχὴν λαμβάνειν λαλήσαι, ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς ὁμολογίας, μαρτύριον τῶν λελαλημένων, παρρησία τῆς ἐλπίδος, στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λόγων τοῦ Θεοῦ, διῖκνεῖσθαι ἄχρι μερισμοῦ ψυχῆς τε καὶ πνεύματος, προσέρχεσθαι θρόνῳ χάριτος, ἐξ ἀνθρώπων λαμβάνεσθαι, περικεῖσθαι ἀμαρτίαν, ἀφίεναι τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς λόγον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τελειότητα φέρεσθαι, γεῖσθαι δωρεᾶς ἐπουρανίου, μιμηταὶ τῶν διὰ πίστει κληρονομοῦντων,

ἀγκυρα ἐλπίδος, προκειμένη ἐλπίς, ἱερὸς εἰς τὸ διηνεκές, ἐντολὴ ἀποδεκατοῦν, μετατιθεμένη ἱερωσύνη, ζωὴ ἀκατάλυτος, κεχωρισμένος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν, δικαιώματα λατρείας, περικεκαλυμμένος χρυσίῳ, στάσιν ἔχειν, παύεσθαι προσφερομένην, διδαχαὶ ξέναι, and θυσία ἀνέσεως.' p. 83.

Admitting, now, that the same phraseology cannot be found in Paul's epistles; is not the Greek of these phrases classic or Hellenistic? Is it not such as a writer might choose, without any uncommon peculiarities? But without insisting on this, I have only to remark, at present, that the same kind of argument which Seyffarth adduces, if it be valid, will prove any one of Paul's epistles to be spurious, with equal force. I must refer the reader, for the illustration and proof of this, to § 29 in the sequel.

II. Objections from the peculiar forms and juncture of words, in our epistle.

(10.) 'Our author makes a peculiarly frequent use of composite words. His epistle contains five hundred and thirty-four words of this sort; while Paul, in his epistle to the Romans, uses only four hundred and seventy-eight.' p. 91.

Without following on, in the steps of Seyffarth, to examine whether his enumeration is correct, I take it as he has presented it. I open my New Testament at the epistle to the Colossians accidentally, and proceed to count the composite words; which amount, if I have made no mistakes, to one hundred and seventy-eight; the number of pages is three. The epistle, then, averages fifty-nine composite words to a page. The epistle to the Hebrews occupies ten pages, and has, according to Seyffarth, five hundred and thirty-four composite words, i. e. on an average,

fifty-three to a page. If it is spurious for this reason, *a fortiori* the epistle to the Colossians must be counted spurious also.

(11.) 'Our author is partial to the use of participles, and of the genitive absolute. He employs eighty-four active participles, and one hundred and seven passive and middle ones, and seven cases of the genitive absolute; while in the epistle to the Romans, there are only ninety active participles, and forty-two passive, and no cases of the genitive absolute.' p. 81.

Allowing the enumeration of Seyffarth to be correct, the average number of participles, on each page, will be for Hebrews, nineteen; for Romans, ten. Put now this principle to the test, in some other epistles. If I have rightly counted, the epistle to the Colossians has active participles thirty-four, passive forty, pages three, average number of participles to a page, twenty-four. Ephesians has active participles sixty, passive twenty-four, pages four and a half, average to a page, twenty-three. Of course, if our epistle is spurious, because it employs so many as nineteen participles to each page, then these epistles must be spurious, which employ twenty-three or twenty-four to a page.

And as to the genitive *absolute*, the second Corinthians (which has active participles ninety-seven, passive seventy-seven, pages nine, average to a page, nineteen, the same as in our epistle,) has the genitive absolute three times. Can any thing be more inconclusive, now, than such a species of reasoning?

(12.) 'Our author has peculiar junctures of words; e. g. ἔσχατον ἡμέραν, τὸ ἀμετάβητον τῆς βουλῆς, κοινωνίῳ with the genitive, διαφορώτερος παρά, ῥῆσαι πρὸς τινα, ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν, παθήματα θανάτου, ἀγαγεῖν εἰς δόξαν, κρατῆσαι with the accusative,

εὐαγγελίζω with the accusative, ἀδύνατον with the infinitive after it, αἱ πρότερον ἡμέραι, καταβάλλειν θεμέλιον.' p. 81.

Some of these phrases are Pauline; e. g. ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν, Rom. i. 4. xv. 12. 21. 24. Phil. iii. 11. So εὐαγγελίζω with the accusative, Rom. x. 5 bis, 2 Cor. xi. 7. Gal. i. 9. In regard to the others, if they prove any thing, they will prove too much; for the same kind of argument would show (as we shall hereafter see), that the first epistle to the Corinthians is spurious. The phrases in question are all either classic or Alexandrine Greek; and how can it be shown, then, that it was either impossible or improbable, that Paul should employ them?

III. Objections drawn from the use of words employed, in our epistle, in a sense different from that which Paul attaches to them.

(13.) 'Τὸς Θεοῦ, in our epistle, designates the higher nature of Christ, and not the Messiah simply. In Paul, it has the latter sense.' p. 60 seq.

Paul also uses it in the former sense, in Rom. i. 3, 4. viii. 3. 32, and probably in 2 Cor. i. 19. In our epistle, it is used in the sense, alleged by Seyffarth to be the exclusive one, only in i. 2, and perhaps vii. 3. In other cases, it is employed in the usual sense of *Messiah*; viz. in i. 5 bis, 8. iv. 14. v. 5. 8. vi. 6. vii. 28. x. 29.

(14.) 'Κληρονόμος, lord, possessor, is peculiar to our epistle.' p. 63.

Not so. In Rom. iv. 13, 14. viii. 17. Gal. iii. 29. iv. 7. Tit. iii. 7, it is used in the same way. Indeed, the usage of κληρονόμος, in this sense, is *Pauline*, instead of *anti-pauline*.

(15.) 'Our author uses ὑπόστασις in the sense of *fundamentum*, Heb. i. 3; Paul no where employs it in such a sense.' p. 66.

In Heb. i. 3, *ὀπίστασις* is *unique*. In iii. 14. xi. 1, *ὀπίστασις* means *confidence*; so in Paul, 2^d Cor. ix. 4. xi. 17.

(16.) ‘*ἔργον*, in the sense of *beneficence*, Heb. vi. 10, is peculiar to our epistle.’ p. 76.

The meaning attributed to *ἔργον* here, is deduced merely from the context, viz. from *ἀγάπη*, which follows it. The sense of *ἔργον* itself here does not differ from that which it has in Eph. ii. 10. Col. i. 10. Tit. ii. 14; specially 2 Cor. ix. 8. 1 Tim. vi. 18. So also in Matt. xxvi. 10. Acts ix. 36.

(17.) ‘*Πηλίκος*, in our epistle, vii. 4, means *quam insignis*, *how distinguished*; Paul applies it only to *magnitude*, Gal. vi. 11.’ p. 77.

These two instances are the only ones, in which *πηλίκος* occurs in the New Testament. *Πηλίκος* properly signifies, of *what magnitude*. It may be applied either in a *physical* or *moral* sense. In Gal. vi. 11, it is applied in the former sense, (so also in the Septuagint, Zach. ii. 2.); in Heb. vii. 4, it is used in the latter sense; at least, it designates *greatness of rank or condition*. Can any thing be more natural than the derivation of this *secondary* sense of the word, in such a case, from the primary one?

(18.) ‘*Οἶκος*, Heb. viii. 8. 10, is used in the sense of *tota gens*; Paul does not employ it in this sense.’ p. 77.

It is sufficient to reply, that both of these instances are not our author’s own words; they are quotations from the Septuagint. As to the writer’s own use of *οἶκος*, he employs it in the usual sense, viz. *household*. See Heb. iii. 2–6. x. 21. xi. 7, and comp. 1 Cor. i. 16. 1 Tim. iii. 4, 5. 12. 15. v. 4. 2 Tim. i. 16. iv. 19, &c. also Acts vii. 10. x. 2, &c.

(19.) ‘*Ἐπισυναγωγή* is peculiar to our epistle.’ p. 77.

It is employed but once, Heb. x. 25. Only once more

is it found in all the New Testament, and that is in 2 Thess. ii. 1, in a sense like that in Heb. x. 25. If any thing can be fairly deduced from this, it is in favour of the Pauline origin of our epistle.

(20.) 'Κοσμικόν, in the sense of *exornatum*, Heb. ix. 1, is peculiar. Paul uses κόσμος and κοσμημένος.' p. 78.

The exegesis of this word is manifestly erroneous. See Heb. ix. 11. 24. xii. 22. Rev. xxi. 2.

(21.) 'Περικαλύπτω is used, Heb. ix. 4, to express the covering of vessels; in 1 Tim. ii. 9, for the veiling of women.' p. 79.

Περικαλύπτω is not used in 1 Tim. ii. 9, nor any where in Paul's acknowledged epistles. It is used only in Mark xiv. 65. Luke xxii. 64; and there, in the same sense as in Heb. ix. 4.

(22.) 'Συνείδησις is used, in our epistle, in the sense of *animus*, *mens*; by Paul, in the sense of *conscience*.' p. 79.

So is it used in the sense of conscience, too, by our author, in xiii. 18, and probably x. 22. In x. 2, it means *consciousness*. Only in Heb. ix. 9. 14, has it the sense of *mens*, *animus*; which also it seems to have in 2 Cor. v. 11.

(23.) 'Αναιρέω is used in the sense of *abolishing*, Heb. x. 9; Paul uses καταργίω.' p. 80.

Αναιρέω is used but once; and then, in a sense which is common in the Septuagint and in classic authors. Καταργίω is also employed by our author, Heb. ii. 14, and in the same sense in which Paul employs it; which sense is exclusively Pauline. Comp. Luke xiii. 7.

In regard to the words αἰών, τάξις, and ἡγούμενοι, on which Seyffarth also charges peculiarity of signification, in our epistle, they have been already examined above. See pp. 221. 223. 272.

IV. Ἄπαξ λεγόμενα of our Epistle.

Nearly one half of Seyffarth's Essay is occupied with reckoning up words of this class, §§. 16—28. It is singular, that he should bring into this computation words that occur in the quotations made from the Septuagint; e. g. ἐλίσσειν, παραπικρασμός, προσόχθιζω, τροχιά, ὄρθος, &c.; as if these were chargeable, as peculiarities, upon the idiom of our epistle. Yet such is the ardour with which arguments of this nature have been urged by him, Schulz, and others, that the bounds of sober reflection are not unfrequently overleaped, and objections undistinguishingly pressed into service, by these writers.

I subjoin a catalogue of these ἄπαξ λεγόμενα, because I wish to put the reader in possession of all that is adduced, to overthrow the Pauline origin of our epistle. The force of the argument, I shall examine in a subsequent section.

I remark here only, that I find, by actual examination, this whole class of so called ἄπαξ λεγόμενα, almost without exception, are words both of classical and of Septuagint or Alexandrine usage. The employment, therefore, of words belonging to both these kinds of Greek, can mark nothing very peculiar in the style or choice of words adopted by our author. The instances alleged by Seyffarth are the following; viz.

Chap. I. Πολυμέρως καὶ πολυτρόπως, ἀπαύγασμα, χαρακτήρ, μεγαλωσύνη, ἐλίσσειν.* II. Παραρρνεῖν, μισθαποδοσία, συνεπιμαρτυρέω, βραχύ, παραπλησίως, ἰλάσκεσθαι. III. Μέτοχος, θεραπόντων, παραπικρασμός,* προσοχθίζω.* IV. Ὑπόδειγμα, ἀφανής, τραχηλίζω, βοήθεια, εὐκαρπος. V. Μετριοπαθεῖν, ἱκετηρία, αἷτιος, προσαγορευθεὶς, γωθρός, αἰσθητήρια, ἕξις. VI. Παραδειγματίζω, βοτάνη, ἐπιτυγχάνω governing the genitive, ἀντιλογία, ἀμετάθετος. VII. Κοπή, ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ, ἀγενεαλόγητος, ἀφωμοιωμένος, διηνεκές, ἀκροθίνια, πατριάρ-

χης, ιερατεία, συναντάω, ἀθέτησις, ἀπαράβατος, παντελής, ἀμίαντος. VIII. Ἐπῆξε, δῶρα, ἀναφέρω, χρηματίζω, νομοθετεῖν, διατιθέναι, ἴλεως εἶναι,* παλαιοῦν, ἀφανισμός. IX. Ἐγκαινίζομαι, ῥαντίζω, αἱματεκχυσία, ἀντίτυπος, συντέλεια τῶν αἰώνων. X. Ἀνώτερον, πρόσφατος, ἀκλινής, παροξυσμός, ἐκουσίως, φόβερος, ἐνυβρίζειν, ἀθλησις, θεατρίζειν, ὀνειδισμός, χρονίζειν. XI. Εὐαρεστεῖν, ἄστρο, ἀναρίθμητος, παρεπίδημος, τρίμηνον, ἀστείος, διάταγμα, συγκακουνχεῖν, κατάσκοπος, παρεμβόλη, τυμπανίζειν, καταγωννίζεσθαι, μελώπη, δέρμα, προβλέπομαι. XII. Τοιγαροῦν, νέφος, ἀφορῶντες, ἀναλογίζομαι, κάμνειν, ἀντικαθιστάναι, ἐκλανθάνειν, ὀλιγωρεῖν, νόθος, παριέναι, τροχία,* ὄρθος,* ἐνοχλεῖν, πρωτοτοκία, μετέπειτα, ψηλαφᾶν, γνόφος, διαστέλλομαι, φαντασία, ἐντρομος, ἔκφοβος, πανήγυρις, σείω, ἀσάλευτος, καταναλίσκω. XIII. Βοηθός, ἡγούμενος, ἀναθεωρέω, εὐποιῶ, ἀλυσιτελής.

The whole number is one hundred and eighteen; from which are to be subtracted those six marked with an asterisk, as they are *quoted from the Septuagint*, and belong not to our author. The amount then of ἀπαξ λεγόμενα is one hundred and twelve. And they are collected, too, with an unsparing hand; e. g. ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ, ἀγενεαλόγητός, τρίμηνον, ἐντρομος, ἔκφοβος, and many other words like these, where it is difficult to see how the author of our epistle could avoid choosing the very terms which he has employed, if we consult the connexion in which they stand.

This list appears, indeed, quite large and formidable to any one, who has not put to the test the principle of reasoning to which it must appeal, if any weight be allowed it in the scale of evidence against our epistle. That principle I shall bring to the test, by subjecting one of Paul's *acknowledged* epistles to an examination, in the same way, and on the same grounds, which Seyffarth, Schulz, and others, have thought proper to adopt in the examination of our epistle.

§ 29. *Objections made against the genuineness of our Epistle, compared with those which may be made against the First Epistle to the Corinthians.*

It often struck me, while engaged in the toilsome and protracted labour of examining the preceding objections made against the Pauline origin of our epistle, by Schulz and Seyffarth, that the only just method of weighing the whole force of the arguments, which they deduce from peculiarities of phraseology and the choice of words by our author, would be, to carry the same principles of reasoning along with us, to the examination of one of Paul's *acknowledged* epistles, and see whether as great a list of expressions and words, foreign to the other acknowledged epistles of Paul, might not be found, as in the epistle to the Hebrews. This task, so far as I know, has never yet been performed by any critic. And yet, such an experiment seems to be obvious and necessary, in order that we may judge, with any confidence, in regard to the alleged *singularities* of our epistle. I have gone through with the appalling labour of performing such a work; and I shall now present the reader with the results of this undertaking.

In making choice of an epistle among the acknowledged writings of Paul, I found some difficulty. I chose, at last, the first epistle to the Corinthians; because, like that to the Hebrews, it presents several topics that are peculiar to itself. In this respect it has more resemblance to our epistle, than any other of Paul's acknowledged letters. Consequently, a comparison of its peculiarities of phrase and diction, with the other epistles of Paul, would be more like a comparison of our epistle with these, and would be

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more just, than a similar comparison of any other of Paul's epistles.

I divide the *peculiarities* of the first epistle to the Corinthians, into two great classes.

I. Phraseology peculiar to this Epistle, and found no where in the other acknowledged writings of Paul.

1 Cor. i. 1 Ἅγιασμένοι, as a title of Christians, used no where else by Paul. 2 Ἐπικαλούμενοι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου I. X. as a periphrasis for the idea of *Christians*. 5 Ἐν παντὶ ἐπλουτίσθητε ἐν αὐτῷ. 9 Εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ νιοῦ αὐτοῦ. 10 Παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Κυρίου I. X. Paul says, διὰ I. Χριστοῦ, Rom. xv. 30.—τὸ αὐτὸ λέγῃτε, *be in unison*—κατηρτισμένοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ νοῖ. 13 Μεμέρισται ὁ Χριστός; *is Christ divided?* Paul uses *μερίζω*, in the sense of *impart*, e. g. Rom. xii. 3. 2 Cor. x. 13. 16 Λοιπὸν οὐκ οἶδα, Paul commonly uses τὸ *λοιπὸν*, Eph. vi. 10. Phil. iii. 1. iv. 8. 2 Thess. iii. 1. 17 Σοφία λόγον, Paul uses λόγον σοφίας, Col. ii. 23.—*κενωθῇ ὁ σταυρός*. 18 Ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ. 21 Μωρὸς τοῦ κηρύγματος. 25 Μωρὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ. 27 Μωρὸν τοῦ κόσμου. 25 Ἀσθενὲς τοῦ Θεοῦ. 27 Ἀσθενῇ τοῦ κόσμου. 26 Βλέπετε τὴν κλῆσιν—σοφοὶ κατὰ σάρκα—*δυνατοί*, for *those in an elevated station*. 30 Ὅς ἐγενήθη ἡμῖν σοφία δικαιοσύνη τε καὶ ἁγιασμός καὶ ἀπολύτρωσις.

II. 1 Ὑπεροχὴν λόγου.—τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ Θεοῦ. 2 Οὐ γὰρ ἔκρινά τι εἰδέναι, *I determined not to make known*. 4 Πειθοὶ σοφίας λόγοι—ἀπόδειξις πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως. 5 Σοφία ἀνθρώπων, *human subtlety*. 6 Σοφία τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, in 1 Cor. σοφία is used *seventeen* times, in the epistle to the Romans only *once*, and that in a quotation, Rom. xi. 33. 7 Προῤῥιζεν πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων. 8 Ἀρχοντες τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου—κύριος τῆς δόξης. 10 Ἀποκαλύπτειν διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος—πνεῦμα ἐρευνᾷ—τὰ βαθὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ. 13 Διδακτοῖς ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας λόγοις—διδακτοῖς πνεύματος—πνευματικῶς ἀνακρίνονται. 14 Ψυχικὸς ἄνθρωπος—πνευματικῶς ἀνακρίνεται.

III. 1 Σαρκεῖς, as applied to *persons*. 3 Κατὰ ἄνθρωπον περιπατεῖτε. 6 Ἐγὼ ἐφύτευσα, applied to the labour of a religious

teacher—'Απολλῶς ἐπότισε, *Apollos supplied with water*, applied to the same—Θεὸς ἠύξανε, *made to increase*, (Hiphil of the Hebrews,) no where employed in this sense by Paul in his other epistles, nor appropriated to designate such a shade of thought. 8 Λήφεται κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον κόπον Paul says, κατὰ τὰ ἔργα, e. g. Rom. ii. 6. 2 Cor. xi. 15. 2 Tim. iv. 14. 9 Συνεργοὶ Θεοῦ—Θεοῦ γεώργιον—Θεοῦ οἰκοδομή. 10 Σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων. 11 Θεμέλιον τέθεικα. 12 Ἐποικοδομεῖν χρυσόν, ἄργυρον, κ. τ. λ. 13 Ἡ ἡμέρα δηλώσει—ἐν πυρὶ ἀποκαλύπτεται—τὸ πῦρ δοκιμάσει. 14 Μισθὸν λαμβάνειν. 15 Ἔργον κατακαίειν—σωθῆναι ὡς διὰ πυρός. 18 Μωρὸς γίνεσθαι. 21 Ἐν ἀνθρώποις κανχᾶσθαι. 23 Ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ, Χριστὸς Θεοῦ, *ye are Christ's, Christ is God's*.

IV. 1 Ὑπηρέτης Χριστοῦ—οἰκονομοὶ μυστηρίων. 3 Εἰς ἐλαχιστὸν εἶναι—ἡμέρα, *day of trial, trial*. 4 Ἐμαντῷ συνειδῆν. 5 Πρὸ καιροῦ κρίνειν—βουλαὶ τῶν καρδιῶν—ἐκαινος γίνεται τινί. 6 Μετασχηματίζειν eis, *to transfer figuratively*—τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ δ γέγραπται φρονεῖν, *not to think of one's self more highly than the Scriptures allow*; Paul uses παρ' δ φρονεῖν in such a case, Rom. xii. 3, and employs φρονεῖν ὑπὲρ in the sense of *having a regard for*, Phil. i. 7. iv. 10.—θυσιαῦν ὑπὲρ κατὰ. 7 Διακρίνειν τινά, *to make one to differ*. 8 Κεκορησμένοι εἶναι—βασιλεύειν, *to be in a happy or prosperous state*. 9 Ἐσχάτους ἀποδείξει—θέατρον γένεσθαι. 10 Μωροὶ διὰ Χριστόν—φρόνιμοι ἐν Χριστῷ—ισχυροὶ applied to *persons*—ἐνδοξοὶ in the same manner. 13 Περικαθάρματα τοῦ κόσμου—πάντων περίψημα—ἕως ἄρτι. 14 Ἐντρέπων, *act. voice, putting to shame*; no where else, except with a passive meaning. 15 Παιδαγωγοὶ ἐν Χριστῷ—πατέρες [ἐν Χριστῷ]—ἐν Χριστῷ γεννᾶν. 17 Ὅδοις τὰς ἐν Χριστῷ, *Christian doctrines*. 19 Ἐὰν ὁ Κύριος θελήσῃ. 20 Βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐ ἐν λόγῳ ἐν δυνάμει. 21 Ἐν βάβδῳ ἐλθεῖν.

V. 1 Ὅλως ἀκούεται—γυναῖκα ἔχειν, *to cohabit with a woman*. 2 Πενθεῖν, *to be sorrowful*; Paul, *to make sorrowful*, 2 Cor. xii. 21. 3 Ἀπὼν ἐν σώματι, (Paul, ἀπτεῖναι ἐν σαρκί, Col. ii. 5.)—παρὼν τῷ πνεύματι. 4 Συναχθέντων ὑμῶν, καὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πνεύματος, *is altogether unique, in the shade of idea*. 5 Εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς σαρκὸς, ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα σωθῇ, *is altogether peculiar*. 7 Ἐκκαθαίρειν ζύμην—τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν (Χριστὸς) ἐτίθη. 8 Ἐορτάζειν ἐν ζύμῃ παλαιᾷ—ζύμη κακίας καὶ πονηρίας—ἀζύμοις εὐαγγελίᾳ καὶ

ἀληθείας. 10 Πόρνοι τοῦ κόσμου τούτου—ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελθεῖν, *to withdraw entirely from converse with men*. 12 Τοὺς ἔσω, *those within the church*.

VI. 1 Πράγμα ἔχειν, *to have ground for a suit at law*. 2 Οἱ φῶμι τὸν κόσμον κρινούσι—ἀνάξιοι κριτηρίων. 3 Ἀγγέλους κρινούμεν, *altogether sui generis*. 4 Καθίζειν, *to make to sit as judges*. 5 Πρὸς ἐντροπὴν λέγω, also in xv, 34.—διακρίναι ἀνὰ μέσον. 6 Κρίνεται μετὰ, *goes to law with*—ἄπιστος, used eleven times in this epistle, and *not once* in Romans, Colossians, Galatians, Ephesians, Thessalonians, Philippians, 2 Timothy. 7 Κρίματα, *law-suits*—ἀποστερέομαι, *to suffer one's self to be defrauded*—ἀποστερέω, *to defraud*. 9 Ἀδικοί, for Heb. דגנפ; Paul uses the word but once, and then in the singular number, Rom. iii. 5, and in quite a different way. 11 Δικαιωθῆναι ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ. 12 Πάντα μοι ἔξεστι—συμφέρι, five times in this epistle, and no where else in all of Paul's acknowledged epistles, except *twice* in 2 Cor.—ἐξουσιάζεσθαι ὑπὸ τινος. 15 Μέλη Χριστοῦ—πόρνης μέλη. 16 Κολλῶμενος Κυρίῳ—κολλῶμενος τῇ πόρνῃ. 20 Ἀγοράζεσθαι τιμῆς—δοξάζειν ἐν τῷ σώματι.

VII. 1 Γυναικὸς ἀπεσθαι, *to cohabit with*. 2 Ἐχειν γυναῖκα, *to marry or possess a wife*. 5 Ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἦτε, *ye may come together*. 14 Ἀγιάζω, in a sense *sui generis*—ἀκάθαρτος, in a sense peculiar; so also ἅγιος, which follows. 19 Ἡ περιτομὴ οὐδέν Paul says, οὔτε περιτομὴ τι ἰσχύει, Gal. v. 6. vi. 15.—ἡ ἀκροβυστία οὐδέν ἐστι—τήρησις ἐντολῶν Paul says, ὑπακοὴ πίστεως, Rom. i. 5. xvi. 26; or ὑπακοή simply, Rom. v. 19. vi. 16. xv. 18. xvi. 19; or he uses ὑπακούω, Rom. vi. 12. vi. 17. x. 16, et sæpe. 20 Κλήσις, *condition in life, rank*; no where so employed by Paul. 21 Μὴ σοι μελέτω, *be not solicitous*—μᾶλλον χρῆσαι, *prefer*. 25 Ἐπιταγὴν ἔχειν—ἡλεημένος ὑπὸ Κυρίου Paul uses ἡλεήθην simply, Rom. xi. 30. 2 Cor. iv. 1. 1 Tim. i. 13. 16. 26 Καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ Paul uses καλόν simply, in the same sense, e. g. Rom. xiv. 21. Gal. iv. 18. 29 Τὸ λοιπόν, *hereafter, for the future*. 31 Χρᾶσθαι τῷ κόσμῳ—τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου. 32 Μεριμνῶν τὰ τοῦ Κυρίου. 33 Μεριμνῶν τὰ τοῦ κόσμου Paul uses μεριμνῶν τὰ περί. 34 Ἀγία εἶναι σώματι καὶ πνεύματι. 35 Πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, *for the profit*. 37 Ἀνάγκην ἔχειν. 40 Δοκεῖν πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἔχειν, *truly unique*, in the epistles,

VIII. 1 Γνωσιν ἔχειν. 4 Οὐδὲν εἶναι ἐν κόσμῳ—οὐδεὶς ἕτερος. 6 Ἐμὶν εἰς Θεός, ὁ πατήρ, κ. τ. λ. The whole verse is unique. 7 Συνειδήσις, *conscientious scruples*. 12 Ἀμαρτάνειν εἰς, *to sin against*—τύπτειν συνειδήσιν. 13 Βρῶμα σκανδαλίζει Paul, διὰ βρῶμα λυπεῖσθαι, Rom. xiv. 15.

IX. 1 Τὸ ἔργον μου . . . ἐν Κυρίῳ. 2 Ἄλλοις . . . ὑμῖν . . . ἀπόστολος . . . Paul uses the gen., ἐθνῶν ἀπόστολος, Rom. xi. 13; ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν, 2 Cor. viii. 23; ὑμῶν ἀπόστολος, Phil. ii. 25—σφραγὶς τῆς ἀποστολῆς. 5 Γυναῖκα περιάγειν—7, 13 Ἐσθλείν ἐκ, *to eat of* . . . Paul uses simply the accusative, e. g. Rom. xiv. 2. 2 Thess. iii. 12. 11 Σπαίρειν πνευματικά—θεριζέειν σαρκικά, *to have one's temporal wants supplied*. 12 Ἐξουσία, *property*. 16 Ἀνάγκη . . . ἐπικείται μοι . . . Paul, ἐξ ἀνάγκης 2 Cor. ix. 7; κατ' ἀνάγκην, Philem. v. 14. 17 Οἰκονομίαν πιστευθῆναι. 19 Ἐλεύθερος ἐκ . . . Paul uses ἐλεύθερος ἀπό, Rom. vii. 3. 20 Κερδαίνειν, *to win over* . . . in a different sense, Phil. iii. 8. 22 Γίνεσθαι τοῖς πασὶ τὰ πάντα. 24 Βραβεῖον λαμβάνειν. 25 Φθαρτός . . . ἀφθαρτος στέφανος. 26 Ἀέρα δέρειν.

X. 1, 2 The whole of the description presented in these two verses is *sui generis*, and found no where in Paul. 3 Βρῶμα πνευματικόν—πόμα πνευματικόν. 4 Πνευματικῆς πέτρας—and specially the idea of the whole phrase, πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας. So also ἔπινον ἐκ . . . Paul uses πειν (2 aor.) with the accusative, Rom. xiv. 21. 11 Τύποι συμβαίνειν . . . Paul, τύπος simply, Rom. v. 14; or γίνεσθαι τύπος, 1 Thess. i. 7. 1 Tim. iv. 12—τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων . . . Paul, ἔσχαται ἡμέραι, 2 Tim. iii. 1. 13 Πειρασμός ἀνθρώπινος εἶληφε, singular both as to the verb and adjective, joined with πειρασμοί. 15 Ὡς φρονίμοις λέγω. 16 ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας—κοινωνία αἵματος—κοινωνία σώματος. 17 Εἰς ἄρτος . . . εἶναι, said of Christians communing at the Lord's table. 18 Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ σάρκα—κοινωνοὶ θνῃστοτηρίου. 19 Τί σὺν φημι; 20 Δαιμονίοις θύειν—κοινωνοὺς δαιμονίων γίνεσθαι. 21 Ποτήριον δαιμονίων—τράπεζα δαιμονίων. 27 Καλέω, in the sense of *inviting to a meal*. 32 Ἀπρόσκοποι, with the dative after it—πάντα πᾶσιν ἀρέσκειν.

XI. 2 Παραδόσεις κατέχειν. 3 Θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι—παντός ἀνδρὸς κεφαλὴ Χριστός—κεφαλὴ Χριστοῦ Θεός. 4 Κατὰ κεφαλὴς ἔχειν, *to cover the head*. 5 Καταισχύνειν, *to dishonour*, . . .

Paul, to *disappoint*, Rom. v. 5. ix. 33. x. 11.—τὸ αὐτὸ τῇ, *the same thing as*, i. e. αὐτό with the dative after it. 7 Ἀνὴρ εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα Θεοῦ—γυνὴ δόξα ἀνδρός. 9 Οὐ ἀνὴρ ἐκ γυναικός, κ. τ. λ. 10 Ἐξουσία, *veil*, or *token of power*—ἄγγελοι, *spies*. 12 Ὁ ἀνὴρ διὰ τῆς γυναικός. 14 Φύσις διδάσκει. 17 Συνέρχεσθαι εἰς τὸ κρείττον εἰς τὸ ἥττον. 20 Κυριακὸν δεῖπνον. 23 Παραλαβεῖν ἀπὸ Paul uses παραλαβεῖν παρά, Gal. i. 12. 2 Thess. iii. 6. 24 Τὸ σῶμα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλόμενον. 25 Μετὰ τὸ δειπνήσαι Paul no where uses μετὰ before the inf. mode preceded by τό.—ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ ἐμφῷ αἵματι. 27 Ἐνοχος ἔσται τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου. 29 Κρίμα ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν τινί—διακρίνειν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου. 30 Ἀσθενεῖς, *sickly*—ἱκανοί, *many* Paul uses it in the sense of *able*, *sufficient*, 2 Cor. ii. 6. 16. iii. 5. 2 Tim. ii. 2. 31 Διακρίνειν, *to examine*. 34 Διατάσσομαι, *to set in order*, *arrange* Paul uses it for *command*, Tit. i. 5.

XII. 3 Ἐν πνεύματι Θεοῦ λαλεῖν—λέγειν ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦν—εἰπεῖν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν. 6 Ἐνεργεῖν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι Paul, *ενεργεῖν τὰ πάντα*, Eph. i. 11. 7 Φανέρωσις τοῦ πνεύματος. 10 Διακρίσεις, *powers of distinguishing* Paul, in a different sense, Rom. xiv. 1—γένη, *kinds* Paul uses γένος for *descent*, *lineage*, Phil. iii. 5. 13 Εἰς ἐν σῶμα βαπτισθῆναι—εἰς ἐν πνεῦμα ποτισθῆναι Paul uses ποτίζω no where, except in a quotation from the Old Testament, Rom. xii. 20. Vs. 15—17. Where is any representation like this, in all the Pauline epistles? Paul introduces the same general image, in Rom. xii. 4, 5, as is found in 1 Cor. xii. 12—14; but he does not pursue it into detail. 23 Τιμὴν περιτιθέναι. 24 Διδόναι τιμὴν Paul, ἀποδιδόναι τιμὴν, Rom. ii. 7—τὸ αὐτὸ μεριμνῆν. 26 Μέλος δοξάζεται—συνγαλῶ used absolutely, without any dative following it Paul employs the dative after it, Phil. ii. 17, 18. 27 Ἐκ μέρους, Paul uses ἀπὸ μέρους, Rom. xi. 25. x. 15. 24. 2 Cor. i. 13. ii. 5. 28 Τιθέναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, *to constitute officers in the church*. 28 Where else are such officers in the church mentioned, as ἀντιλήψεις, κυβερνήσεις, δυνάμεις?

XIII. 1 Γλῶσσαι ἀγγέλων. 2 Εἶδεῖν μυστήριον—ὄρη μεθιστάμεναι. 3 Ψωμίζειν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα. 6 Στέγειν, *to cover over*. 8 Γλῶσσαι πᾶσαι, *the idea of speaking in a variety of languages*, is not found attached to γλῶσσα, in any of the Pauline epistles. 12

Βλέπειν δι' ἐσόπτρου . . . ἐν αἰνίγματι . . . πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον—γινώσκειν ἐκ μέρους.

XIV. 2 Πνεύματι λαλεῖν μυστήρια. 3 Λαλεῖν οἰκοδομὴν παράκλησιν . . . παραμυθίαν. 5 Οἰκοδομὴν λαβεῖν. 6 Λαλεῖν ἐν ἀποκαλύψει κ. τ. λ. 7 Φωνὴν διδόναι—διαστολὴν διδόναι. 9 Εἰς αἶρα λαλεῖν. 10 Τυγχάνω, *to happen, to be*; . . . Paul, in the sense of *obtaining*, 2 Tim. ii. 10. 11 Δύναμις, *force of*, in the sense of *meaning*—εἶναι βάρβαρός τινι. 14, 15 Προσεύχεσθαι γλώσση . . . πνεύματι . . . νοῦ—ψάλλειν πνεύματι . . . νοῦ. 16 Εὐλογεῖν τῷ πνεύματι. 19 Λαλεῖν διὰ νοός. 20 Παιδία γίνεσθαι ταῖς φρεσὶ—ταῖς φρεσὶ τέλειοι γίνεσθαι. 22 Εἰς σημεῖον εἶναι Paul, σημεῖόν ἐστι, 2 Thess. iii. 17. 27 Κατὰ δύο, ἢ τρεῖς. 32 Πνεύματα προφητῶν προφήταις ὑποτάσσεται. 33 Ἀκαταστασίας Θεός.

XV. 1 Δι' οὗ [εὐαγγελίου] σώζεσθε. 3 Ἐν πρώτοις, *first* Paul, πρῶτος, Rom. x. 19. 8 Ἐσχατον πάντων. 10 Εἰμι ὃ εἰμι. 14 Κενὸν κήρυγμα, κενὴ πίστις. 15 Ψευδομάρτυρες τοῦ Θεοῦ. 17 Εἶναι ἐν ἁμαρτίαις. 20 Ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων. 21 Δι' ἀνθρώπου ὁ θάνατος Paul, διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὁ θάνατος, Rom. v. 12.—δι' ἀνθρώπου ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν. Vs. 24—28, a passage altogether *sui generis*. 29 Βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν. 38 Σῶμα διδόναι. 40 Σῶμα ἐπίγειον. 42 Σπειρεσθαι ἐν φθορᾷ—ἐγείρεσθαι ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ—σπείρεσθαι ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ—ἐγείρεσθαι ἐν δόξῃ, κ. τ. λ. 44 Σῶμα ψυχικόν—σῶμα πνευματικόν. 47 Ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος, ὁ Κύριος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. 49 Φορεῖν εἰκόνα. 50 Σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα, κ. τ. λ. 51 Μυστήριον λέγειν Paul, μυστήριον λαλεῖν, Col. iv. 3. 52 Ἐσχατὴ σάλπιγξ. 53 Δεῖ γὰρ τὸ φθαρτὸν, κ. τ. λ. 56 Κέντρον θανάτου, ἡ ἁμαρτία—δύναμις ἁμαρτίας, ὁ νόμος. 57 Διδόναι νίκος.

XVI. 2 Μία σαββάτων—τιθέναι παρ' ἑαυτῷ. 7 Ἐν παρόδῳ ἰδεῖν. 9 Θύρα ἀνέωγε μεγάλη καὶ ἐνεργής. 22 Ἦτω ἀνάθεμα, μαρὰν ἀθά. 24 Ἡ ἀγάπη μου μετὰ, κ. τ. λ. The whole closing salutation is *sui generis*.

Such is the almost incredible mass of *peculiar* phraseology, in the first epistle to the Corinthians. It is possible that there may be instances, among so many, where I may, through the tedium of such an examination, have overlooked some phrase of the same kind in Paul's other epistles. If

this be so, the student, who has in his hands a Greek Concordance, will be able easily to detect it. In the mean time, I venture to affirm with entire confidence, (having repeated my investigations a second time,) that the number of such mistakes, at most, is not sufficient to affect in any degree the nature of the argument, or the force of the appeal. I remark only, that where I have appealed to Paul, as not having employed a particular word or phrase, or as not using it in a like sense, I mean, of course, that Paul has not done this in his other *acknowledged* epistles.

If any one is disposed to object to this array of phrases *sui generis*, in the first epistle to the Corinthians, and to aver, that many of them are nearly like those used by Paul, and that others are occasioned by the peculiarity of the subjects of which the writer treats, and that, in general, they are collected with an unsparing hand; I have only to reply, that, in all respects, they are as fairly and as sparingly collected, as those brought forward by Schulz and Seyffarth. For the correctness of this, I make the appeal to every unprejudiced man, who has read attentively and critically the essays of these authors, in which they have brought forward their objections against the genuineness of our epistle.

As a counterpart for the appalling list of one hundred and eighteen *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα*, in the epistle to the Hebrews, which Seyffarth has presented, I offer,

II. The *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα*, in the first epistle to the Corinthians.

**Ἀγαμος, ἀγενής, ἀγνωσία, ἀγοράζω, ἀδάπανος, ἄδηλος, ἀδήλως, ἄδης, ἄζυμος, αἰνιγμα, ἀκατακάλυπτος, ἀκολουθέω, ἀκρασία, ἄκων, ἀλαλάζω, ἀμέριμνος, ἀμετακίνητος, ἀμπελών, ἀνά, ἀνακρίνω, ἀνάμνησις, ἀνάξιος, ἀναξίως, ἀνδρίζομαι, ἀντιληψις, ἀπάγω, ἀπελεύθερος, ἀπερυσπύστωι, ἀπόδειξις, ἀπολούω, ἀποφέρω, ἀργυρος, ἀροτριῶν, ἀρπαξ,*

ἄρρωστος, ἀρχιτέκτων, ἀσθενέστερος, ἀστήρ, ἀστατέω, ἀσχημονέω, ἀσχήμων, ἄτιμος, ἄτομος, αὐλέω, αὐλός, αὐριον, ἄφωνος, ἄψυχος.

Βρόχος, βιωτικός, γάλα, γεώργιον, γογγύζω, γραμματεὺς, γυμνητεύομαι, δειπνέω, δεῖπνον, διαίσεις, δίδακτος, διερμηνευτάς, διερμηνεύω, διόπερ, δουλαγωγέω, δράσσομαι, ἐγκοπή, ἐγκρατεύομαι, εἰδωλεῖον, εἰδωλόθυτον, εἰσακούω, ἐκβασίς, ἐκγαμίζω, ἐκδέχομαι, ἐκνήφω, ἐκπειράζω, ἐκτρωμα, ἐλεεινός, ἐνέργημα, ἐννομος, ἐνοχος, ἐντροπή, ἐξαίρω, ἐξεγείρω, ἐξεστὶ, ἐξουσιάζω, ἐορτάζω, ἐπαινέω, ἐπιβάλλω, ἐπιθανάτιος, ἐπιθυμητής, ἐπισπάομαι, ἐπιτοαντό, ἐρμηνεία, ἔσοπτρον, ἐτερόγλωσσοι, εὐγενής, εὐκαιρέω, εὐπρόσεδρος, εὖσημος, εὐσχημοσύνη, εὐσχήμων, ἡχέω, the form ἦτω from εἰμί, θάπτω, θέατρον, θηριομαχέω, θύω, ἱάμα, ἰσχυρότερος, κάθαρμα, καίω, καλάμη, κατακαίω, κατακαλύπτομαι, κατακείμαι, καταστρώννυμι, καταχράομαι, κείρω, κέντρον, κιθάρα, κιθαρίζω, κινδυνεύω, κλάω, κλάζω, κόκκος, κομῆ, κομάω, κορέννυμι, κρεῖσσον in the sense of the adverb *better*, vii. 38, κριτήριον, κτήνος, κυβέρνησις, κύμβαλον, κυρίακος.

Λιθάζω, λογία, λoidoréw, λoidoros, λύσις, μαίνομαι, μάκελλον, μακαριώτερος, μαλακός, μαρὰν ἁθά, μέθυσε, μέλει, μετέχω, μηνύω, μοιχός, μολύνω, μύριοι, μωρία, νή, νίκος, νηπιάζω, ξυράω, ὀλοθρευτής, ὄλω, ὀμιλία, ὀσάκισ, ὀσφρησις, οὐαί, οὐδέποτε, οὐδέπω, οὐθέν, οὐπω, ὀφελος, παιδίον, παίζω, πανταχοῦ, παραγίνομαι, παραμένω, παραμυθία, πάροδος, παροξύνομαι, πάσχα, πειθός, περιάγω, περιβόλαιοι, περικάθαρμα, περισσότερον, περιτίθημι, περίψημα, περπερεύομαι, πνευματικῶς, ποιμαίνω, ποίμνη, πόμα, πορνεύω, πορνή, ποτήριον, προσεδρεύω, προσκυνέω, προφητεύω, πτηνόν, πυκτεύω, πωλέω, ράβδος, ριπή, σαλπίζω, σελήνη, σίτος, στάδιος, συγγνώμη, συγκεράννυμι, συζητητής, συμμερίζομαι, σύμφωνος, συνέρχομαι, συνάγω, συνειδέω, συνήθεια, συστέλλω, σχολάζω, τάγμα, τήρησις, τοίνυν, τύπτω, ὑπερακμος, ὑπηρέτης, ὑπωπιάζω, φιλόνηκος, φρήν, φυτεύω, χαλκός, χοϊκός, χόρτος, χρηστεύομαι, ψευδομάρτυρ, ψυχικός, ὥσπερ. In the whole, 230 words.

In order now to estimate the comparative force of the argument, from these ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, we must take into the account the comparative length of the first epistle to the Corinthians and of our epistle. In the Bible lying before me, the former occupies thirteen pages, the latter ten; i. e. the former, in respect to length, is to the latter, as thirteen to ten. Now in the epistle to the Hebrews, are found

one hundred and eighteen ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, according to the reckoning of Seyffarth; in the epistle to the Corinthians, if I have reckoned rightly, (I have repeated, a second time, the whole examination,) there are two hundred and thirty. Consequently, in the epistle to the Hebrews, the average number of ἀπαξ λεγόμενα is a little short of *twelve* to a page; while the average number in the first epistle to the Corinthians is (within a small fraction) *eighteen* to a page.

Certain is it, then, that if the number of ἀπαξ λεγόμενα in our epistle proves that it was not from the hand of Paul, it must be more abundantly evident that Paul cannot have been the author of the first epistle to the Corinthians, which has a proportion of one-half more ἀπαξ λεγόμενα than our epistle.

Such is the basis of the arguments, so confidently adduced by Schulz and Seyffarth, and so much applauded and trusted in by many other critics. It has been often said by logicians, that "what proves too much, proves nothing." This is *well said*; and applied to the case before us, it will show, at once, that the very same means used to overturn the opinion, that Paul was the author of our epistle, would overturn the opinion that he wrote any other particular epistle, which is universally acknowledged as coming from his hand.

But what shall we say, when in addition to all the ἀπαξ λεγόμενα of words, we reckon up the *phrases* of the same sort, which have been adduced above? Is here not a mass of evidence apparently overwhelming? Surely, if the first epistle to the Corinthians had been anonymous, the whole body of modern writers, who have attacked the Pauline origin of the epistle to the Hebrews, must have, with one unanimous voice, disclaimed the first epistle to the Corinthians as belonging to Paul. In all respects which have

any reference to the number of *peculiar* phrases and words that are ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, the first epistle to the Corinthians presents far stronger evidence of *not* being Pauline, than our epistle does.

So unsafe is this argument, although often produced and much relied upon, in respect to the important subject which we are examining! How much easier, too, is it to make assertions at hazard, on a subject of this nature, than it is to go through with the excessive labour of verifying such assertions, by means of that great rectifier of wandering critics—a Greek Concordance? Had this been done, long ago, the world had been spared a great deal of useless labour, and literature the record of many a hasty conclusion, from premises unexamined and unestablished.

But further, the argument against the genuineness of the first epistle to the Corinthians could be easily amplified, by appealing still farther to the same kind of arguments as are adduced against our epistle. For example; how easy to ask, ‘ If the first epistle to the Corinthians be Paul’s, how is it possible, that in so long a letter there is no discussion of Paul’s favourite topics in which he was so deeply interested? How comes it about, that we have nothing about justification by faith, without the deeds of law; nothing of the vanity and folly of Jewish rites and ceremonies; nothing which asserts the equal rights of Jews and Gentiles, and blames the Judaizing teachers and zealous who refused to acknowledge this? Where has Paul ever descanted, as here, on the subject of spiritual gifts; on the marriage relation, conditions, habits, and dress of women; on the Lord’s supper; on the support of preachers; on the comparative value of spiritual gifts, and of faith, hope, and love; and above all, on the controverted and speculative questions of his time, respecting the manner in

which the bodies of the saints would rise from their graves, when the last trumpet should sound? Where else has Paul, or any other sacred writer, intimated, that the regal power of the Messiah would cease, after the day of judgment, and that he would be subjected to the Father? Is there any parallel to this epistle, either for matter or manner, in all the acknowledged writings of Paul?

I might proceed still further, and collect a large number of favourite expressions, often repeated, in this epistle, but which seldom or never occur in the other Pauline epistles. Many such I have noticed, in the course of my investigations; many more than Dr. Schulz has been able to collect from the epistle to the Hebrews. And if the *two* epistles to the Corinthians were to be the subject of investigation, instead of the first only, the list of ἀπαξ λεγόμενα and ἀπαξ λογιζόμενα, and of favourite idioms and peculiar ideas, might be swelled to an enormous catalogue. I have observed, as I feel quite well satisfied, more ἀπαξ λεγόμενα in the second epistle to the Corinthians in proportion to its length, than in the first; and quite as many peculiar phrases. In a word, after such an investigation as I have been through, I am bold to say, that there is not a single epistle of Paul's which may not be wrested from him, by arguments of the very same kind, as those by which the genuineness of our epistle is assailed, and in all respects of equal validity.

Unfortunately for the cause of criticism, so just and obvious an investigation has not hitherto been entered upon. Most of those who have doubted the genuineness of the epistle to the Hebrews, have seemed to consider it as quite proper to make out from it all the *specialities* possible, and then to reason from them, without any fear of mistake. I have examined their arguments in detail,

because I wished to show how many hasty and incorrect assertions have been brought forward as arguments. I have now exhibited the application of the *principles*, on which their whole argument stands, to one of Paul's epistles, the genuineness of which no critic calls in question. The result is so plain, that it cannot be mistaken.

"But," it will be asked, "can we never reason, in any case, from *dissimilarity of language* in different compositions, to *different persons as authors*?" No doubt we may, in some cases. But not unless the difference be greater, than in the case before us. It has been shown above, how many striking traits of resemblance to the other letters of Paul there are in our epistle. While these remain, the discrepancy can never be made out to be great enough to build a sound argument upon it. If the question were to be asked, Whether the author of the epistle to the Romans could have written the first epistle of John? the answer would be easy, nay almost absolutely certain, from *internal* evidence. But after all the striking resemblances which can be shown between our epistle and Paul's letters; after proving from actual examination, that the list of peculiarities, in one of his most conspicuous and acknowledged epistles, is much greater than in our epistle; after making all the reasonable abatements which must be made, from the peculiarity of the subjects which are discussed in our epistle, and of the condition of those to whom it was addressed; after reflection upon the acknowledged fact, that every writer's style is more or less altered, by advancing age; by the circumstances of haste or leisure in which he writes; by the topics themselves which he discusses; by the degree of excitement which he feels at the time; above all, taking into consideration the fact, that every writer who travels to many different countries, resides in many dif-

ferent places, and is conversant with a great variety of men and of dialects, is much more liable to change his style somewhat, than he who always resides in the same place, and is conversant with the same men and books; after taking, I say, all these things into consideration, can any man have reasonable grounds to be satisfied, that the peculiarity of style and diction in our epistle is such, that its Pauline origin is to be rejected on account of them? I will not undertake to answer for others; but for myself, I can say with a clear and an abiding conviction, I do not feel that such an argument can stand before the impartial tribunal of criticism.

§ 30. *Objections by De Wette.*

While the preceding sheet was under the press, the *Historical and Critical Introduction to the New Testament*, by W. M. L. De Wette, came to hand. It was published at Berlin, during the last year; and exhibits the views of its celebrated author, in regard to the origin of our epistle.

De Wette is the well-known author of a commentary on the Psalms, of a translation of about one-half of the Old and New Testaments, of a Hebrew Archæology, of an historical and critical Introduction to the Old Testament, and of some other works in the departments of sacred criticism and moral science; all of which have attracted great attention on the continent of Europe, on account of the distinguished genius and extensive erudition of the author. He is now a Professor, in the University of Bâle, in Switzerland.

De Wette takes side, as from his habits of thinking and reasoning he might be expected to do, with those who deny

the Pauline origin of our epistle. His arguments are very brief, (as the nature of his book required them to be); and I am not a little surprised to find, that among them all, there is not a single one which is not drawn from the works that have been already examined above.

In regard to the external evidence, he has given many of the principal citations, which are adduced in the preceding part of this discussion, pp. 112—160. But some important ones he has omitted, which speak most unequivocally against the views he gives of the opinion of the fathers. For example, he merely refers to Euseb. Ecc. Hist. vi, 25, in respect to the very important testimony of Origen, which the reader will find on p. 127 seq. above; simply remarking that "Origen gives up the writing down of the epistle by Paul, and only attributes the *matter* of it to him," (p. 285). In a note, he subjoins, "When he [Origen] speaks of the tradition of the churches, it is probable that he means only the Alexandrine church." In regard to such a probability, I must refer the reader to what is said above, p. 184. (7.) The probability is very strong, that all of Origen's homilies must have been published in Palestine; for he was licensed to preach but a few months before he was driven from Alexandria; see Lardner's Credib. iii. 194. Whether Origen would, under such circumstances, be likely to retain any superstitious veneration for the church at Alexandria, every reader will be able to judge, so as to satisfy his own mind. It will be remembered, that the testimony in question of Origen, is from one of his *Homilies* on the epistle to the Hebrews.

In the same manner, he has merely made a simple reference to the important testimony of Jerome, in his epistle to Dardanus, cited above, p. 154; while he has inserted at full length all the passages which might serve to show

that Jerome had doubts in his own mind, in regard to the Pauline origin of our epistle. This he avers to have been the fact. But whether there is any just foundation for such an assertion, has already been examined above, p. 154 seq. Jerome, no doubt, felt himself obliged to use great caution, in regard to the manner in which he spoke of the epistle to the Hebrews, because the prevailing sentiment of the western churches, in his time, was against the Pauline origin of it. More than this can never be fairly deduced, from any of the language which he employs. The passages in his epistle to Dardanus, in his commentary on Matt. XXVI., and in his book *De Viris Illustribus* c. v, (supra, pp. 154, 155,) can never be made to speak less than a decided, definite opinion, on the part of Jerome himself, in respect to the Pauline origin of our epistle. How should he have been the occasion of revolutionizing the whole of the western churches, in regard to the sentiment under consideration, if this were not the case?

Other testimonies, too, De Wette has omitted, which are in favour of the Pauline origin of our epistle. In stating the opposition of the Latin churches to this sentiment, he has brought forward the doubts of Jerome, and of his contemporaries. He has followed these on, down to the seventh century, by quoting from Primasius and Isidore Hispaliensis. But he has not once hinted, that in this same western church, all those distinguished bishops who are mentioned above (p. 153), admitted our epistle to be Paul's; excepting that he has adduced some of the testimony of Jerome and Augustine.

Besides, he has advanced the broad position, that "the western churches originally (anfänglich) denied this epistle to be Paul's." The passages adduced in proof of this, are Euseb. Ecc. Hist. vi. 20, (cited above, p. 138); v. 26,

(supra p. 145); the passages from Photius, Gobar, and Hippolytus, (supra p. 145); Tertullian, de Pudicitia, c. 20, (supra p. 150 seq.); Cyprian, de Martyr. c. xi., (supra p. 151); Jerome, Epist. ad Paulinum, (supra p. 155); and Philastrius, de Hæres. c. 89, who speaks only of the opinion of others, himself believing the epistle to be Paul's. But De Wette has not said a word, in this connexion, of all the evidence adduced in § 12 above, which has relation to this subject; nor of the division of opinion, that existed in the Latin churches of later times, and before the days of Jerome, in respect to the subject in question.

Again, in stating the testimony of the eastern churches, De Wette has merely brought forward Eusebius, as testifying to the opinions of his own times; see Eusebius' testimony above, p. 137 seq. At the same time, he intimates that there were doubts, in that part of the church, in regard to the Pauline origin of our epistle. He has not, however, produced a single author from the East who has expressed any such doubts, (and this for a very imperious reason); while, at the same time, he has sedulously omitted all those, cited on p. 143 above, who undoubtedly ascribed our epistle to Paul.

Is this, now, an *impartial* examination and statement of evidence, on this great question? And has an author, who writes in this hasty manner, without extended examination, and without deliberation, any right to find fault with others, when they refuse to receive his allegations with implicit credit, and betake themselves to such an examination, as may detect imperfect representation and statements evidently dictated by partiality?

Next, *as to the internal grounds of proof*, that our epistle does not belong to Paul.

These are, without exception, the same as had been

before advanced by Eichhorn, Ziegler, Bertholdt, Schulz, and Seyffarth; all of which have been examined in the preceding pages. De Wette states, very categorically, that the language of our epistle is very different from that of Paul; and he appeals to Schulz as having most fully shown this, in the work which has been already examined. How far the case is as Schulz has represented it, must now be left to the reader to judge for himself.

What most of all surprises me, is, that De Wette should produce, as special proof of the alleged discrepancy of style, the formulas of quotation, examined p. 248 seq. (18.) above; and also the appellations given to the Saviour by the writer of our epistle, examined in p. 256 seq. (19.) above; two of the most unlucky of all the arguments which Schulz and Seyffarth have adduced. It requires, indeed, a great deal of patience and labour to examine this matter to the bottom; more, I am quite inclined from bitter experience to believe, than De Wette consumed in writing the whole of the article in his Introduction, which has respect to our epistle.

Besides these two cases of *diversity* of style, De Wette has proceeded to cite a large list of words; all of which are taken from Schulz and Seyffarth, and have already been the subject of particular examination. With an adventurous step, and without even opening his Greek Concordance for investigation, he has followed his leaders in this hazardous path, and even selected the words examined above, on p. 276 (34.), p. 277 (37.), not omitting the most unfortunate of all Dr. Schulz's *guesses*, viz. the phrases on p. 278 (40.), above. The word *πίστις*, too, has come in for its usual share of *discrepancy*, (see above, p. 224 e), and also *βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ* and *τελείωσις*.

He avers, moreover, after Schulz, that the comparison

and symbolical use of the Old Testament passages and ordinances, is foreign to the manner of Paul, and like to that of Philo. (See on this subject p. 187 seq. (2.) above.) He asserts, too, that Paul could not have represented Christianity so correspondent with Judaism, nor Christ as high priest; nor would he have been silent about his office of apostle to the heathen, nor concealed the fact, that the Christian religion was designed as well for Gentiles as Jews.

Yet, how many of Paul's epistles there are, in which these topics are not insisted on, and which De Wette himself does not suppose to be spurious, he does not seem once to have thought of. How is it possible that such a writer as Paul should be limited to one circle of objects, and reasoning, and expression? De Wette would not like to have the genuineness of his own works tried by such a rule of scrutiny.

On the question, To whom was our epistle directed? De Wette has exhibited a singular method of treating the subject. He endeavours to present difficulties that lie in the way of supposing that it was directed to any church; and then comes to the conclusion, that probably it was not originally an *epistle*, but the composition of some companion of Paul, who added the personal allusions toward the close of the letter, for the sake of giving credit to it as a composition of the apostle; so that all investigation about either the author of the epistle, or the persons to whom it is directed, is in vain and useless, pp. 292—294. It seems after all, then, that the author of our epistle is a dissembler and dishonest man; aiming to stand upon the credit of Paul, because he fears that his own credit is insufficient. But can any candid reader of our epistle refuse to see the unequivocal marks of sincerity, candour, high-raised be-

nevolent feeling, and spiritual comprehensive views, every where exhibited? I repeat it, had the writer of such a piece any need of propping up himself, by the aid of even Paul's name and authority? Then how futile, nay foolish, the attempt to do so, if his style, diction, manner, reasoning, quotations, circle of thought—in a word, every thing—is so *toto cælo* diverse from that of Paul, as Schulz, Seyfarth, and De Wette represent it! Where were the eyes and understandings of the readers? Could they not detect the imposture? And then what would become of the epistle, and of the reputation of the man who wrote it? One ought to have better reasons than these, to abandon the convictions which a thorough investigation will force upon him.

§ 31. *Objections by Boehme.*

The work of De Wette, noticed in the preceding section, was accompanied by a recent work of C. F. Boehme, comprised in a volume of about 800 pages; which contains an introduction to our epistle, and a translation of the same, followed by a copious commentary. Of the author little is known in this country, and, if I may judge by such reviews of books in Germany as I have perused, little is said in his own country respecting him. The work was printed at Leipsic in 1825.

Like the critics whose works have been examined in the preceding sections, Boehme sets out with the most unqualified assertions respecting the discrepancies of style and manner, between the author of our epistle, and all the other writers of the New Testament. He asserts, that 'as to the form and method of his work, the rhetorical construction of it, and the constant and accurate observance of

order, our author far excels the other contemporary sacred writers.' He extols the art which the writer of our epistle uses, in order to persuade those whom he addressed to follow his advice; in particular, he gives as examples of this, Heb. iii. 7—iv. 13, where the writer very dexterously, as he says, turns the promise of rest in the land of Canaan, into a promise of rest in the heavenly world; to which he adds Heb. xi. 8—16, where, he avers, that "the author by the aid of his rhetorical art, and *contra fidem historię*, has rendered it *aliquatenus probabile*, that Abraham and the other patriarchs had a spiritual rest in view."

With many other eulogies he loads the author of our epistle, on account of his art, his eloquence, and his excellent Greek; and from all this, (as was to be anticipated,) he comes to the conclusion, that the author could not be Paul, nor any of the other writers of the New Testament, being far superior to them all.

Into the historical and critical examination of this question, however, he does not even pretend to go. He avers, that to do so would be merely *agere actum*. He considers the works of Schulz, Seyffarth, and Ziegler, as having finally settled the question, beyond any hope of retrieve by those who advocate the Pauline origin of our epistle; and after appealing to the authors just named, and to the considerations which he has himself suggested, in respect to the discrepancies of style and manner between the author and Paul, he concludes by saying, "that Paul was not the author, *satis superque demonstratum est, a nobis aliisque.*"

This is indeed a summary method of despatching a question of this nature; certainly it is a method, which spares writers and readers a great deal of severe labour and study. Unfortunately, however, for all these rhetorical appeals to the mere feelings and imagination of men, there

are some, at least, who believe in the Pauline origin of our epistle, that are *too φιλόδοτοι* to shrink from bringing the whole matter to the test of actual investigation, and who will insist upon it, that those who make assertions, are bound in duty to prove them.

The work of Boehme, under examination, is not one which bids fair to bring any accession of strength to the cause of those who deny the Pauline origin of our epistle; and all which I could wish to say respecting his suggestions, has been already said in the preceding pages.

I cannot deny, however, that he has exhibited something *new* in his book. He has endeavoured to show, that Silas or Silvanus was the author of our epistle, and that it was directed to the church at Antioch; conjectures, which not only have not a single voice of ancient testimony in their favour, but which are destitute of any circumstances that render them even in a slight degree probable. I cannot help thinking of Boehme's introduction to his work, much as one of his countrymen thinks of a certain author, who has made some noise of late in the medical world; "He has some new things, and some true things; but his new things are not true things, and his true things are not new things."

§ 32. *Hebraisms of the Epistle.*

All the writers, who have declared against the Pauline origin of our epistle, have appealed to Origen's declaration, *Ἀλλὰ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ συνήκει τῇς λέξεως Ἑλληνικωτέρη*, the epistle [to the Hebrews] in the texture of its style is more conformed to the Greek idiom, [than the epistles of Paul]. Euthym, Bertholdt, Ziegler, Scholz, Sayfarth, De Wette,

Boehme, and others, have one and all urged this consideration, and insisted upon it, that Origen's judgment, on this point, must be considered as decisive.

In respect to the general principles of criticism, which are to regulate our investigation of such a matter, I have already said all which I wish to say, p. 215 seq. (4.) The actual comparison of our epistle with the acknowledged epistles of Paul has also been made, pp. 173—209 above. It may, however, be of some importance to add, in this place, a list of some of the Hebraisms which occur in our epistle, in order to meet the very categorical assertion of De Wette and Boehme, that 'the style of our epistle is not only very different from that of Paul, but he composes in purer Greek, and with a far more oratorical diction.'

Words and phrases used in a Hebraistic sense, or in a way different from what is usual in the Greek classics.

CHAP. I. 1 Παράσι, *ancestors of old time*, אֲבוֹת. Seldom or never does classical Greek so employ this word. Ἐκ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν, *the time of the Messiah, the last age of the world*, אַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים; purely Hebrew. 2 Κληρονόμος, *lord, ruler*, יֹרֵשׁ; in classic Greek, one who takes by lot, or by testament. 3 Δόξα, *splendor, brightness, radiance*, כְּבוֹד; in Greek, opinion, sentiment, maxim, fame, honour. Ὑποστάσει αὐτοῦ, *of his substance*, i. e. *of himself*, נִפְשׁוֹ, עַצְמוֹ. Καθαρισμὸν . . . τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, *expiation for sin*, הַכַּפָּרִים. (Sept. καθαρισμός, Ex. xxix. 36. xxx. 10); see Comm. in loc. Μεγαλυσύνη, *majesty, excellence*, מְדִינָה, אֲדָרָת; not found in the classics. Ἐν ὑψηλοῖς, *in heaven, in the world above*, בְּמַרְוִם, Sept. ἐν ὑψηλοῖς. 4 Κεκληρονόμηκεν, *obtained*, יָרַשׁ; Greek, to acquire by lot, to inherit. Same word in i. 14.

I omit purposely all the *quotations* which follow here, and all throughout the epistle, which are made from the ancient Scrip-

tures; because, as they were doubtless made, in general, from the Septuagint version, they cannot be justly considered as properly belonging to the style of our author. If the Hebraisms in all these quotations were to be added to the list of those in the rest of the epistle, it would make it to appear something very different from 'Ελληνικωτέρα. Whether Origen did, or did not, mean to exclude them, no one, so far as I know, has yet attempted to show.

II. 2 Λόγος, *commination, command, or revelation*, דְּבַר; not so in the classics. 3 Σωτηρίας, *the Christian religion with its threats and promises*; certainly not a classical sense of the word. 4 Δυνάμει, *miraculous powers, miracles*, גְּבוּרָה, עֵץ, נִפְלְאוֹת, all of which the Septuagint translate by δύναμις; in the classics, not so. Θέλησιν, a word unknown to the Attics. 5 Οἰκουμένην μέλλονσαν, *the gospel dispensation*, הָעוֹלָם הַבָּא; purely Jewish. 10 Δόξαν, *future happiness, a glorious condition in another world*; peculiar to Hellenistic Greek. 11 Ἀγιάζων and ἀγιαζόμενοι, *making atonement for, and, those for whom atonement is made, or, who are expiated*, קָדַשׁ and כִּפֵּר are both rendered by ἀγιάζω in the Septuagint; in the classics, ἀγιάζω means to consecrate, to make or declare sacred. Ἀδελφούς, *socios, amicos, ejusdem naturæ participes*, אֶחָדִים; classics, either children of the same parents, or near relatives, kindred by descent. 12 Ἐκκλησία, *public religious assembly*, קְהָל, עֲצָרָה, מִקְרָא; classics, public civil assembly. 14 Σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος, *human nature, corporeal state or condition*, בָּשָׂר, דָּם = נֶפֶשׁ, see Gen. ix. 4. and in the New Testament, 1 Cor. xv. 50. Matt. xvi. 17. Gal. i. 16. al.; not so used in the classics. Καταργήση, *to destroy, to render null or inefficacious*; classics, to be idle, to remain sluggish or inactive. Διάβολον, *Satan*, שָׂטָן, *the devil*; classics, a slanderer, an accuser. 16 Ἀγγέλων, *angels, heavenly messengers*, מַלְאָכִים; in the classics, ἄγγελος means messenger, or message. Σπέρματος, *progeny, offspring*, זָרַע, frequent in the New Testament, and three times in our epistle; rarely, if ever, has it this sense among the classics. The frequency of it is Hellenistic.

III. 1 Ἀδελφοὶ ἅγιοι, אֲדֹנָיִם, Ps. xvi. 3 et sæpe, *professed people of God, worshippers of God*; in a sense different from the ἅγιος of the classics. Κλήσεις ἐπουρανίου, *invitations or privileges of the gospel*; no parallel in common Greek. Ἀπόστολον καὶ ἀρχιερέα τῆς ὁμολογίας; such a combination is utterly foreign to the classics. 2 Οἶκον in the sense of *worshippers of God, the assembly of the faithful*, בֵּית אֱלֹהִים, בֵּית; peculiar to Hellenistic Greek. So 13 Καθ' ἐκástην ἡμέραν, כָּל הַיּוֹם, *continually, constantly*. Σκληρύνω, קָשָׁה, קָשָׁה, applied to the heart or mind; literally used only in the classics. 16 Παρεπύκρναν, מָרָה, סָרָה, not of classic usage. 17 Προσώχθισε, קִיַּשׁ; not a classic word. Ἀμαρτήσασιν, חָטְאוּ, *sinner, violators of divine precepts*; classic usage, to miss the mark, to fail, &c.; the sense of *sinner* or *offender*, as in our epistle, is seldom and doubtful in the classics. Κῶλα, *carcasses, corpses*, פְּגָרִים; in common Greek, members, limbs. 18 Κατάπαυσον, מְנוּחָה, *rest, future rest or happiness*; Greek, a causing of rest, stilling, quieting.

IV. 2 Εὐαγγελισμένοι, בְּשִׁיר, used here in a more appropriate and peculiar sense, than in the classics. Ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀκοῆς, שִׁמְעָה, שְׁמִיעָה, found in Paul, 1 Thess. ii. 13; the words are classic, but the combination is altogether diverse from any in the classics. 12 Ζῶν, *perpetual, enduring, or active*, הַי, as in הַי אֵל; not in the classics. 13 Οὐκ . . . κτίσις, לֹא כֵל, Greek οὐδέν, *no creature, nothing*; κτίσις, in the classics, means, *the act of creating*. 14 Οὐρανοῦς, שָׁמַיִם, the Hebrew idea of the *firmament above*. Ὁμολογίας, *religion, professed subjection to Christ*, Sept. for נִדָּר, *votum*. 15 Ἀσθενείας, *moral weaknesses*, Sept. for מְקַשָּׁל *stumbling*, and צִלְע *claudicatio*; classics, *physical weakness*, with various shades. 16 Θρόνος τῆς χάριτος, without a parallel in the classics.

V. 3 Προσφέρειν, *to offer gifts and sacrifices to God*, הִקְרִיב, הִקְרִיב; in Greek, not appropriate to this sacred rite. 7 Εἰσακουσθεῖς, *delivered, saved*, Sept. for הוֹשִׁיעַ, עָנָה. 12 Τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων; such an expression is wanting in the classics.

Γάλακτος . . . τροφῆς, not a classical metaphor. 13 Λόγον δικαιοσύνης, *Christian or religious doctrine*; without an example in the classics.

VI. 1 Νεκρῶν ἔργων, *deadly, destructive works*, נִדְּחֵי חַיִּים, *occidere*, Septuagint, νεκρός. 2 Βαπτισμῶν διδαχῆς, ἐπιθέσεως τε χειρῶν, foreign to the classics; as is κρίματος αἰωνίου. 4 Πνεύματος ἁγίου, רוּחַ קֹדֶשׁ; an expression and an idea foreign to all the classics. 5 Καλὸν . . . ῥῆμα, *promise of good*, so מַבְרָר מְאֹד often in Hebrew; classics, declaration, any thing uttered. Δυνάμεις μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, *miraculous powers under the gospel dispensation*; an utter stranger to the classic authors. 7 Βοράνην, any kind of *fruit* which the earth produces, שֶׁבַע; in Greek, simply herbage, vegetation. 10 Eis τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, *toward him, toward his cause, for his sake*, (לְשֵׁם), ὄνομα being *pleonastic*, as in Hebrew. 12 Μακροθυμίας, *patient waiting*, מְדַבֵּר, *prolongatio*, Sept.; which I cannot find in the classics. Τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, *the promised blessing*; classic sense, promise.

VII. 1 Θεοῦ ψέιστον, הִלְיָץ; the words are classic Greek, but the combination is Hebrew. Κοπῆς, *slaughter*, כָּרַע; Greek, hewing, cutting out. 3 Ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ, *without any genealogy of parents*; the classic writers apply these words to their gods, and to orphan children, in quite a different sense. 4 Ἀκροθινίων, *spoils* in general, (see Gen. xiv. 20); classics, first fruits, part of the spoils of war presented to the gods. Πατριάρχης, מְלִיכָא דְּאֲבֹתָא; I cannot find any trace of this word in the classics. 5 Ἀποδεκατόω, *to tithe, to take a tenth part*, שֶׁבַע; peculiar to Hebrew Greek. Ἐξεληλυθόρας ἐκ τῆς ὁσφύος Ἀβραάμ, מִן הָאֵפֶסֶת דְּאַבְרָהָם; the Greeks said, γεννᾶσθαι ὑπό τινος, in such a case, so that the above expression is purely Hebrew. 6 Δεκατόω, as ἀποδεκατόω in v. 5. 10 Ἐν τῇ ὁσφύϊ τοῦ πατρός, see above on v. 5. 11 Τελείωσις, in a sense *sui generis*. 16 Σαρκεῖς, *perishable, short-lived*, בָּשָׂר; not found in the classics in such a sense. 20 Ὀρκωμοσίας, peculiar to our epistle; the classic ὀρκωμόσια (with antepenult accent) is an

adjective, *ιερά* being understood after it. 22 *Διαθήκης*, in the sense of the Hebrew *בְּרִית*.

VIII. 2 *Ἀγίων*, plur., *קְדוֹשִׁים*; classics, *ἁγίων*. *Σαγῆς*, the *divine* *לִיהוָה*, *קִדְשׁ*; classics, a common tent or dwelling. 6 *Μεότης*, in a different sense from what is usual in the classics. The long quotation from the Septuagint that follows, is not more Hebraistic than the surrounding context.

IX. 1 *Δικαιώματα*, *ordinances, arrangements*, *דִּקְיָוֹת*; classics, sentence of justice, decision, just action or requisition. 5 *Ἰλαστήριον*, *כִּפָּרַת*, Septuagint word; classics, *ἰλαστήριος* -*ια*, -*ον*, adjective. 9 *Παραβολή*, *symbol*; classics, comparison, similitude in speech or writing. 11 *Ἀρχιερεὺς μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν*, unlike any thing in the classics. 12 *Ταύτης τῆς κτίσεως*, of the *present world*; *κτίσις* in the classics means, the act of creating. *Εὐράμενος*, form *sui generis*. 13 *Κεκοινωμένους*, the *unclean*, *חִלּוּלִים*; Greek *κοινῶω*, to communicate, to share, to render common. *Ἀγιάζει*, *purifies*, *קִדְּשׁ*; Greek, to consecrate, to devote. 16 *Φέρεσθαι*, *accidere, to happen*; it is *sui generis*. 18 *Ἐγκεκαίνισται*, *was ratified*; classics, to renew. 22 *Αἱματεκχυσίας*, *sui generis*. 26 *Καταβολῆς κόσμον*, a combination unknown to the classics. *Συρτελεῖα τῶν αἰώνων*, the *end of the former dispensation*; no where in common Greek. 28 *Ἀμαρτίας*, *sin-offering, sacrifice for sin*, *חַטָּאת*, *עֲוֹן*; not in the classics.

X. 1 *Εἰκόνα*, *complete image, perfect delineation*, (in distinction from *σκιά*, an *imperfect sketch*), *תְּבִלִּית*; the Greek *εἰκών* is simply, *image*. *Τελειῶσαι*, in a more pregnant sense than any classic usage gives to it. 13 *Τεθῶσιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτοῦ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ*, a phrase purely Hebraistic in its hue; see Ps. cx. 1. [2]. 20 *Ζῶσαν*, qualifying such a word as *ὁδόν*, is a combination unknown to the classics. 22 *Ἐφάρνισμένοι τὰς καρδίας*, altogether Hebrew in its hue. 25 *Ἡμέρα*, the *day of the Lord, the day of terror*, *יִום*, *יְהוָה*; *יִום*, altogether in a Hebrew sense. 27 *Πυρὸς ζῆλος*, *חֵן* *חַרֵּן*, exactly Hebrew. 29 *Κοινόν*, an *unclean thing*; see under ix. 13. 32 *Ἀθλησιν . . . παθημάτων*, a method of ex-

pression foreign to the classics. 35 Παρρησίαν, *confidence, Christian trust*; classics, boldness or freedom of speech. Μισθαποδοσίαν, *reward*; *sui generis*.

XI. 3 Αἰῶνας, *worlds*, עוֹלָמִים, entirely Jewish. Ῥήματι, *command*, דְּבַר, אָמַר; Greek, saying, thing said. 5 Ἰδεῖν θάνατον, מוֹת רָאָה שָׁחַת. Οὐχ εὐρίσκειο, אֵינֶנּוּ; foreign to the classics. 6 Μισθαποδότης I cannot find in classic Greek. 7 Κόσμον, *the ungodly, the world who were sinful*; not of classic usage. Δικαιοσύνης, *justifying, of justification*; classics, equity, uprightness. 9 Συγκληρονόμων, *joint-possessors*; foreign, in this sense, to common Greek. 19 Ἐν παραβολῇ, peculiar method of expression. 34 Στόματα μαχαίρας, *the edge of the sword*, פִּי־דָרֶב, unknown to the classic authors. 37 Ἐν φόνῳ μαχαίρας, *with the murderous sword*, a Hebrew combination.

XII. 6 Παιδεύει, *chastises*, יִסֵּר, and ver. 7 παιδεύει, *chastisement*, מוֹסֵר; the meanings here given to these two words are seldom, if ever, given in the classics. 9 Τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν πατέρας, a Hebrew, not a classic combination of ideas; *σαρκός* meaning the *physical* man, in distinction from the *mental* one. Τῷ πατρὶ τῶν πνευμάτων, Heb. בִּשְׁרָ לְכָל הָרוּחוֹת לְאֱלֹהֵי הָרוּחוֹת, Num. xvi. 22. xxvii. 16; foreign to all the classics. 10 Ἀγιότητος, can hardly be found, I believe, in the classics. It is a Hellenistic term, corresponding to קִדְּשׁ. 11 Καρπὸν εἰρηνικόν, *peaceful fruit*, i. e. happy fruit, פְּרִי שְׁלוֹם; *εἰρηνικόν* here manifestly bearing the Hebrew-Greek, and not the classic sense. 14 Οὐδεὶς ὕψεται τὸν Κύριον, so יִרְאָה לֹא יִרְאָה אֶת־פְּנֵי יְהוָה; the whole form of expression is manifestly Hebraistic. 16 Βρώσεως μᾶς, *one meal*; classics, the act of eating, or food. The certainty that *meal* is the idea here, arises from the adjunct μᾶς. Πρωτοτόκια, Heb. בְּכוֹרָה; not used in the classics. 19 Μὴ προστεθῆναι αὐτοῖς λόγον, עוֹד יוֹסֶף עוֹד בְּלִתִּי יוֹסֶף, a Hebrew and not a Greek mode of expression. 22 Μυριάσι, רַבּוֹת, רַבּוֹ, the usual Hebrew expression for a large indefinite number; the Latins said, *sexcenti*. 23 Ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρα-

νοῖς, פֶּל הַפְּתוּב לַחַיִּים, Is. iv. 3. Comp. Ex. xxxii. 32. Ps. lxi. 28. Dan. xii. 1. Luke x. 20. &c. An expression altogether Hebraistic.

XIII. 3 Ὀντες ἐν σώματι, in a frail dying state; not so expressed in the classics. The mode of expression comes from the Hebrew, בְּשָׂרָה. 7 Ἑγουμένων, teachers, spiritual guides, אֱלֹהֵי מִנְהִיגִים; classic sense never that of teachers. 8 Χθες καὶ σήμερον, אֶתְמוּל הַיּוֹם; where, in all the classics is the like of this, in order to designate all past and present time? 15 Θυσίαν αἰνέσεως . . . κάρπον χειλέων; the idea of sacrifice of praise is Hebrew, Lev. vii. 12, זֶבַח הַתּוֹדָה, comp. Ps. l. 14. 23. As to κάρπον χειλέων, there is nothing in the classics like it. Plainly it has its original in the Hebrew, נִשְׁלַמָּה פְּרִים שְׂפָתֵינוּ, Hos. xiv. 3, we will render to thee the calves [i. e. the offering, the fruit] of our lips, or rather, we will render to thee calves with our lips. 16 Θυσίας, as applied to εὐποιίας καὶ κοινωνίας, is purely a Hebrew application. 17 Ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν, for you, לְנַפְשֵׁיכֶם; the Greeks, ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν.

In this selection, I have aimed at taking only the more obvious words and phrases. It might be much enlarged, by more strenuously urging the principle, in all respects, of dissimilarity to the Greek classic writers. That an idea is peculiar to the Christian dispensation, and unknown to the classic authors, has not been the basis of my selection in any case, unless at the same time there is a phraseology, which is as foreign to the Greeks as the idea itself. If all the ideas which are not classical, were to be the guiding principle in our selection, there would be no end of examples. But this would not be a fair and proper method of proceeding. It is the diction, and phraseology, and the sense which is given to the words employed, that are asserted to be Ἑλληνικώτερα. In this shape have I endea-

youred to meet the thing; and the reader has the result before him.

With such a result in view, what matters it, whether De Wette, Schulz, Seyffarth, or even Origen himself, tells us that our epistle is almost *classical* Greek, and that all runs smoothly and oratorically on? As to this last assertion, I have only to ask, that those who make it would translate and explain Heb. ii. 9, 10. iii. 3, 4. 15. iv. 3—9. v. 5. 7—9. vi. 1, 2. vii. 1—3. 8, 9. 15, 16. ix. 9, 10. 15—17. 27, 28. x. 5—9. 20. xi. 3. 39, 40. xii. 18—24. 27, 28. xiii. 7—9, 11—13; to which I might easily add many other passages. If they will find Greek more elliptical, more involved, more intricate and dark, in all the epistles of Paul, I will thank them for the discovery.

I must add, also, that the list of Hebraisms and unclassical usage, in our epistle, would have been much more swelled, if I had not omitted to repeat the same words, so often as I found them repeated and used in a Hebraistic or unclassical manner. Such words are ἀδελφός, ἅγιος, ἀγιάζω, ἁμαρτία, ἀσθένεια, δικαιομαία, ἐγκαινίζω, ἐπαγγελία, καθ' ἡμέραν, κληρονόμος, κληρονομία, κατάπαυσις, λόγος ἀρχῆς, μισθαποδοσία, μεγαλωσύνη, μεσίτης, νεκρός, οἶκος, σάρξ, τελειόω, and others.

I make the appeal now with boldness, and call upon those who assert the *almost classic* style and manner of our epistle, to produce more true Hebraisms, and more idioms foreign to the Greek classics, in any of Paul's acknowledged epistles. I will even venture to make another offer; which is, that I will show that ~~some~~ at least of his acknowledged epistles exhibit less Hebrew colouring, when they shall have shown that some of them exhibit more.

It does not signify to beat the air, in this contest. *Assertions* are one thing; *facts* are another. If Origen and all the Greek fathers were to assert, that our epistle is

Ἑλληνικώτερα than Paul's, it could not make it so. "To the work of *examination*," would be my reply. Let every critic go to this work, for himself, if he knows enough of Hebrew idiom to do it; and the result will be an abiding conviction, that Origen had as little reason for the assertion in question, as he had for the adventurous remark which he has made, on the use of the Greek article by the sacred writers. Origen's assertion, and every other man's, on this subject, can be brought to the test; and he who subjects them to this process, I am persuaded, will find himself brought, at last, if he will examine *impartially* and *fully*, to a firm conviction, that they are *mere* assertions, and nothing more.

§ 33. *Alexandrine hue of the Epistle.*

Eichhorn, who has so strenuously insisted that Paul is not the author of our epistle, has endeavoured to show, that it is probably of Alexandrine origin. But the arguments which he adduces for this purpose, seem to me incapable of standing the test of a critical examination.

(1) 'The author of the epistle to the Hebrews, treats the ancient Jewish Scriptures as containing a mysterious and secret sense, concealed under the words. He also regards the various ritual observances of the ancient law, only as types and shadows of things under the Christian dispensation, Heb. x. 1. ix. 8. Philo of Alexandria expresses the same views, De confus. Lingg. p. 348. Eichh. Einleit. p. 442.

That the general views of the author of our epistle in regard to the meaning and object of Jewish rites coincided with those of Philo, I should not be at all disposed to deny.

But who is going to show us, that these were not founded in truth? If, as I believe, the Jewish dispensation had its origin in divine communications and directions, there can be no rational doubt that it had some important end in view. Surely now, the sacrifices and various rites of external purification could never, in and of themselves, be deemed an object worthy of special divine interposition and command. Their connexion with some higher and more spiritual object and end, was what stamped their highest real value upon them. In any other point of view, they could scarcely be thought worthy of the character of him, who requires men to worship him in spirit and in truth.

That a man of such enlarged views as Philo, should have seen and felt this, and that Paul should have done the same, is not a matter of wonder to any one, who considers the tendency of an enlightened mind, to look on the *spiritual* design of religion as infinitely the most important and interesting part of it.

What can be more diverse, however, than the particular form which Philo gives to his speculations on this subject, and that in which the ideas of our author are developed? Philo allegorizes on every thing, and every where, almost without distinction. The historical facts in the book of Genesis, the connexion of Abraham with Sarah and Hagar, and all other occurrences related in the Pentateuch, are, if occasion presents an opportunity, converted into allegory, and made the theme of exuberant speculative mysticism. Neither is there one word in all, which has any relation to the Messiah, or to his atoning sacrifice.

How very different the types and shadows presented by our epistle are, the intelligent and critical reader need not be informed. All is brought to bear on one single point—

the death of Christ, the propitiatory sacrifice for sin made by it, and the effectual reconciliation to God accomplished in this manner.

To reason, then, as Eichhorn has done, is just the same, as to bring forward the allegation, that Philo believed in the existence of one supreme God, that the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews did the same, and then draw the inference, that the writer of this epistle must therefore have lived, or at least been nurtured, at Alexandria. I venture to say, that there never has been so rational an account of the *object* of the Jewish ritual, as the author of our epistle gives; nor one so worthy of the great Author of the old and the new dispensations, nor so consonant with the fundamental maxim, that 'God is a spirit, and requires men to worship him in a spiritual manner.'

(2) 'Philo intimates, that the higher mysteries of the Jewish religion are only for the initiated, *μύσταις*. In like manner our epistle, v. 11—vi. 3.' *Einleit.* p. 444.

I can find no trace of reserve in our epistle, in regard to the *ἀμύστοις*, or *uninitiated*. The expression of deep regret, that those whom the writer addresses had not made higher acquisitions of religious knowledge, I can easily find. Severe reproof for such negligence, I see; but not a word about any distinctions between *μύσταις* and *ἀμύστοις*, *initiated* and *uninitiated*, am I able to discover. Philo, in respect to this, is more than half a Grecian Platonist; but the writer of our epistle practises no concealment at all.

(3) 'The Alexandrine author of the book of Wisdom, has praised wisdom, on account of its nature and qualities, and then adduced historical examples to illustrate all this, *Wisd.* i.—ix. x. 1—xvi. 1.' So the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, after urging and eulogizing faith, adduces

historical examples of it, in chap. xi., in order more strongly to impress its importance.' p. 445.

To which one may reply, that from the days of the author of our epistle, down to the present time, almost every practical writer on religion, and every preacher on the subject of faith, has done the same. But does this prove, that every such writer and preacher was born or nurtured at Alexandria? Can a thing, so obvious to the common sense of all men as the appropriate method of treating a subject, be adduced to establish a special relation between any two men, as to country or education?

(4) 'Many thoughts and expressions, in the epistle to the Hebrews, resemble those of Philo.' p. 446 seq.

So Eichhorn, who has occupied several pages with detailing expressions which afford such resemblances. So Schulz, also, who has occupied fourteen pages with alleged parallels of this nature, printed in opposite columns. I have examined all these with attention, and must confess, that the impression made upon me by them, is very different from that which Eichhorn and Schulz appear to have received.

To any considerate man, who makes this examination, it will very naturally occur, that the author of our epistle and Philo were contemporaries. At least, the former must have come upon the stage, before the latter left it. Then, both were educated as Jews; both were deeply read in the Jewish Scriptures, above all in the law of Moses. Both thought, reasoned, and expressed themselves as Hebrews, writing in Greek. Both had the same views, fundamentally, of the great points of the religion of Moses. Both had high moral feelings, and a deep interest in them. Could it be possible, now, that there should not be points

of resemblance between Philo and our author, when writing on similar subjects? Surely not, any more than that there should not be points of similarity, between the sentiments of a Christian divine in any particular age and country, and those of another, near the same age, in a different country.

Both Philo and our author often appeal to the Jewish Scriptures. And because they deduce from them like sentiments, does this prove that our author must have been of the Alexandrine school? Why is not the argument just as good the other way, viz. to prove that Philo must have belonged to some other country, i. e. to that in which our author lived? All that such resemblance can prove, is, that both belonged to the *Mosaic school*; and who will deny this?

I may venture, however, to go farther, and to aver, that the *dissimilarity of style*, between our epistle and the works of Philo, as they appear in the copious extracts made by Schulz, is so great, that one might almost as well think of proving an alliance between some heathen writer of Greek and our epistle, as between the latter and Philo. The moment Philo departs from his Septuagint text, he goes off to an idiom as different from that in our epistle, as can well be conceived of in a Hebrew, writing on moral subjects, and making the Old Testament the basis of his speculations. Every critical reader who inspects the parallels of Dr. Schulz can judge for himself of this; and to every such one the appeal is fearlessly made, in regard to the point in question.

The writers whom I am now controverting, are indebted to J. B. Carpzoff, (*Exercitt. Sac. in Paulli epist. ad Hebræos, ex Philone Alexandrino, Helmst. 1750,*) for the materials, which they have wrought up into the form of an

argument for the Alexandrine origin of our epistle. But they do not once seem to have reflected, that if the same iron diligence, which Carpzoff has exhibited in his work, had been applied to the acknowledged epistles of Paul, in the same way, as large a harvest of resemblances might have been gathered. In regard to allegory, for example, (which is a main point of alleged resemblance,) what could be more obvious, than to appeal to 1 Cor. x. 1—6. x. 11. Rom. v. 14. 1 Cor. xv. 45—47. 2 Cor. iii. 13—18. Gal. iv. 22—31; also to Col. ii. 16, 17. Gal. iii. 23—25. iv. 1—5? May it not be said of these passages, (as Jerome says of our epistle, and which has been so often quoted with confidence,) ‘*spirant quiddam Philonianum?*’ Let the experiment be made by another Carpzoff, and I venture to predict, that, assuming the principle of argument which is assumed by Eichhorn and Schulz, we may easily show, that Paul himself must have been an Alexandrian, and been educated in the Philonian school.

One hint more, and I dismiss the subject. Is not the Septuagint Alexandrine Greek? Are not the Apocryphal books connected with the Old Testament, Alexandrine Greek? Does not the *whole* New Testament Greek bear a close resemblance to the style of these two classes of books? Are not Paul’s epistles Hebrew-Greek, like all the rest? How can it be shown, then, that the author of our epistle was an Alexandrian, because he writes Alexandrine Greek? If the argument be valid for this purpose, which Eichhorn and Schulz employ, then may we prove, that all the New Testament writers were Alexandrians. *Quod nimium facit, nihil facit.*

§ 34. *Result.*

The conclusion, then, to be deduced, from the preceding examination, seems to be, that the arguments drawn from the style and diction of the epistle to the Hebrews, are not to be relied on as deciding the question against the Pauline origin of it. No case of this nature can be determined by *assertion*. Allegations made for such a purpose, if found to be contradicted by *facts*, are not to determine the manner in which the question before us is to be decided.

One other thing may be said with truth, which has an important bearing on this question. If the *internal* evidence is altogether insufficient to decide the point at issue in the negative, the *external* is equally so. Indeed, the *historical* evidence against the Pauline origin of our epistle is, as we have seen, so little, so vague, and for the most part so indirect, that we may well say, 'the objections have never been of an *historical* nature, but of a *conjectural* one.' They have arisen more from taste and feeling, than from tradition or testimony.

On the whole, I must acquiesce in the opinion of Origen, which I repeat as the general voice of antiquity; IT IS NOT WITHOUT REASON THE ANCIENTS HAVE HANDED IT DOWN TO US THAT THIS EPISTLE IS PAUL'S. Nor should I differ materially from those, who, with Eusebius, can say, τοῦ δὲ Παύλου πρόδηλοι καὶ σαφεῖς αἱ δεκατέσσαρες, *fourteen epistles are CLEARLY and CERTAINLY Paul's*. I consider, however, the form of the proposition, as stated by Origen, to be the most becoming, in regard to a point so controverted, and to contain, for substance, all which it is necessary or expedient for us to assert and to believe.

§ 35. *Was Barnabas the Author?*

Whoever is satisfied with the arguments in favour of the Pauline origin of our epistle, may dispense with the examination, whether any other person than this apostle has a title to be considered as the author. But as past experience must lead one to believe, that unanimity in regard to this subject is not yet to be expected, but that some may still incline to adopt opinions about the authorship of our epistle, which were avowed or defended in ancient times; it seems to be necessary, briefly at least, to examine the claims of some others, as well as those of Paul.

The doubts raised in ancient times, whether Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews, occasioned conjectures with regard to several other persons. Among the remains of ancient Christian writings, we find some hints that Barnabas was the author of our epistle. We first meet with these, in the essay of Tertullian, de Pudicitia, c. 201. "Extat," says he, "enim et Barnabæ titulus ad Hebræos," i. e. *there is extant an epistle of Barnabas, inscribed to the Hebrews.* This is simple assertion, without any reference to the reasons why Tertullian supposes Barnabas to be the author. He does not intimate whether he gathers it from tradition, or assumes it as a matter of mere opinion. He speaks of it as a thing which he believes; which seems to imply that others in that quarter of the church were probably of the same opinion. But we find no mention of this opinion again, until so late as the end of the 4th century, when Jerome adverting to it says, "Most [of the Latins] believe, that the epistle to the Hebrews belongs to Barnabas, or Clement;" see Berth. p. 2953, and Jerome in his Epist. ad Dardanum. Again, in his catalogue of

ecclesiastical writers, under the word *Paulus*, he says, "The epistle to the Hebrews is thought not to be his, on account of the discrepancy of the style; but to belong to Barnabas, according to Tertullian; or to the evangelist Luke, according to some; or to Clement of Rome." The same thing Philastrius (A. D. 380) repeats, *Hæres.* c. 89. And in modern times Cameron and Schmidt have undertaken to defend the hypothesis, that Barnabas was the author of this epistle; Bertholdt, *ubi supra*.

This is all the evidence which history gives us, in respect to this subject; and this surely is too slender to build any opinion upon, which can lay claim to critical confidence.

But all hope of defending this opinion, with any degree of plausibility, is removed by a comparison of the epistle to the Hebrews with an epistle of Barnabas still extant, and undoubtedly the same that was extant in the days of Tertullian, as the quotations from it by the ancient Christian fathers evince. I produce here a few short extracts from this epistle, to enable every one to judge for himself, whether the author of the one epistle can be rationally supposed to have written the other.

Chap. IX. Μάθετε οὖν, τέκνα, περὶ πάντων πλουσίας, ὅτι Ἀβραὰμ, ὁ πρῶτος περιτομὴν δοὺς, ἐν πνεύματι προβλέψας εἰς τὸν υἱὸν περιέτεμα, λαβὼν τριῶν γραμμάτων δόγματα· λέγει γάρ· Καὶ περιέτεμα Ἀβραὰμ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ ἄνδρας δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ τριακοσίους. Τίς οὖν ἡ δαθείσα τούτῳ γνώσις; Μάθετε τοὺς δεκαοκτὼ πρώτους, ἅτα τοὺς τριακοσίους. Τὸ δὲ δέκα ὀκτὼ, ἰῶτα δέκα, ἦτα ὀκτὼ ἔχεις Ἰησοῦν. Ὅτι δὲ σταυρὸς ἐν τῷ Τ ἤμελλον ἔχειν τὴν χάριν, λέγει καὶ, Τριακοσίους. Αἰετοὶ οὖν τὸν μὲν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τοῖς δυοῖν γράμμασι· καὶ ἐν ἑνὶ, τὸν σταυρὸν. Οἶδεν ὁ τὴν ἑμφύτον δουρεὶν τῆς διδασχῆς αὐτοῦ θέμενος ἐν ἡμῖν. Οὐδαὶς γνησιώτερον ἔμαθεν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ λόγον· ἀλλὰ οἶδα ὅτι ἄξιος ἐστὶ ὑμεῖς. i. e. Children, learn abundantly in regard to all things; for Abraham, who first instituted

circumcision; practised this rite, looking forward in the Spirit to the Son, receiving the doctrine of the three letters: For [the Scripture] says, And Abraham circumcised, of his household, three hundred and eighteen men. What instruction is imparted by this? Learn as to the first: eighteen, then as to the three hundred. As to eighteen, *ἰῶτα* signifies ten, and *ἦτα* eight; this means *Jesus*. And because the cross, signified by *T*, would possess grace, it says, *three hundred*. It points out Jesus, therefore, by the two letters; and the cross by one. He knows this, who has conferred upon us the engrafted gift of his doctrine. No one has learned more genuine doctrine of me; but I know that ye are worthy of it." Cotelierius, Pat. Apostol. Tom. I. p. 28.

So then, because Abraham circumcised three hundred and eighteen persons; (which, by the way, is not said in the Scriptures, see Gen. xvii. 23—27, comp. Gen. xiv. 14, which gave occasion to the mistake), the system of gospel truth is disclosed in this mysterious number; and this because *ἰῶτα* stands for *ten*, *ἦτα* for *eight*, and *ταῦ* for *three hundred*, i. e. here is Jesus, and he crucified. Where in all the New Testament is any thing like such egregious trifling as this?

See now, how the same Barnabas can explain the ceremony of the red heifer, the ashes of which were sprinkled upon offenders. After stating the ceremony, and that the ashes were sprinkled by three children, he thus proceeds. Ὁ μὲνχος οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Ἰησοῦς· οἱ προσφερόντες, ἄνδρες ἀμαρτωλοὶ, εἰ προσενέγκαντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σφαγὴν· εἴτα οὐκέτι ἄνδρες, οὐκέτι ἀμαρτωλῶν ἡ δόξα. Οἱ δὲ βαντίζοντες παῖδες, εὐαγγελιζόμενοι ἡμῖν τὴν ἀφεσὶν τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν, καὶ τὸν ἀγνισμὸν τῆς καρδίας, οἷς ἔδωκε τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τὴν ἐξουσίαν, (οὔσι δεκαδύο εἰς μαρτύριον τῶν φυλῶν, ὅτι δεκαδύο αἱ φυλαὶ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ), εἰς τὸ κηρύσσειν. Διὰ τί δὲ τρεῖς παῖ-

δες οὐρανὸν ἰσχυροὺς καὶ ἰσχυρὰ καὶ ἰσχυρὰ,
 ὅτι οὗτοι μεγάλοι τῷ Θεῷ. Ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἔργον ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον; Ὅτι ἡ
 βασιλεία τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ξύλῳ, διότι οἱ ἐλπίζοντες εἰς αὐτὸν ζήσου-
 νται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Διὰ τί δὲ τὸ ἔργον καὶ τὸν ὕψωτον; Ὅτι ἐν τῇ
 βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ ἡμέραι ἔσονται πονηραὶ καὶ ῥυπαραὶ, ἐν αἷς ἡμεῖς σωθη-
 σόμεθα· ὅτι καὶ ἀλγῶν τὴν σάρκα διὰ τοῦ ῥύπου τοῦ ὕψωτου ἰσχύει.
 Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὕτω γενόμενα, ἡμῖν μὲν ἐστὶ φανερὰ, ἐκείνοις δὲ σκο-
 τιστά· ὅτι οὐκ ἤκουαν φωνῆς τοῦ Κυρίου.

But enough. If all were cited, which betrays a feeble and puerile mind, the whole epistle must be transcribed. Let him who needs further argument on this subject, peruse the whole epistle to the Hebrews, and then read through the epistle of Barnabas. It is impossible that he should not feel the almost indescribable difference between the two writers.

Here then is a case, where the possibility of mistake in judging is very small. The difference between this writer, and him who wrote the epistle to the Hebrews, in respect to style, precision, clearness, energy, brevity—in a word, every thing which characterizes any writing—is heaven-wide. The most obtuse perception cannot fail to discern it. It is a hopeless case, to plead the cause of an hypothesis like this.

§ 36. *Was Luke the author?*

The first suggestion among the ancient fathers, that Luke had any part in the composition of the epistle to the Hebrews, is found in a fragment of Clement of Alexandria, preserved by Eusebius, Ecc. Hist. vi. 14, in which Clement asserts, that "Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews in the Hebrew tongue, and that Luke carefully translated it

into the Greek." See note p. 120. The same opinion or tradition, Origen mentions thus: "If I may give my opinion, I should say, the thoughts are the apostle's; but the phraseology and composition belong to some one who relates what the apostle said, and as it were comments on the words of his master. But who wrote [i. e. wrote down] the epistle, God only knows. Report, which has come down to us, says, either that Clement of Rome wrote it, or that Luke the Evangelist did." p. 127, *supra*.

Both Bertholdt and Eichhorn have adduced Origen as asserting, that report attributed the epistle to the Hebrews to Luke as the *real author*; which the context in Origen by no means allows. I cannot but understand him as saying merely, that 'the ancients had a report, that either Luke or Clement *wrote down* the epistle;' which corresponds with the opinion of Clement of Alexandria, Origen's teacher in early life. We have seen that afterwards, among the Latin churches, either Luke, or Clement, was regarded as the real author of this epistle; for so the testimony of Jerome and Philastrius, cited in the preceding section, would seem to indicate.

We have no *historical* ground, then, on which we can build the opinion, that Luke was the author of this epistle. An uncertain tradition of the fourth century is surely insufficient. And even if Origen be understood as asserting, that tradition, in his day, assigned the composition of our epistle to Luke; he also asserts, at the same time, that traditionary testimony was at variance with itself, as one party assigned it to Clement of Rome. He evidently credits neither the one nor the other; at least, not in such a way as to be fully persuaded in his own mind; for he says, "Who wrote down the epistle, τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς Θεὸς οἶδε."

The same uncertainty both Jerome and Philastrius ex-

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hibit, in the testimony to which allusion has just been made.

It is no doubt true, that the style of Luke approximates much nearer to that of the epistle to the Hebrews, than the style of Barnabas; so that a comparison, in this respect, does not lead to so clear and satisfactory a result in this case, as in that. But the situation of Luke, (born and educated abroad, as he was, and never having resided long in Palestine,) hardly leads one to believe, that he was so deeply versed in Rabbinical lore, and in Jewish feelings and modes of thinking, as the author of the epistle to the Hebrews must have been.

The main difficulty, however, is the *want* of any *external* evidence, that Luke was the author. And as there are, at least, no internal circumstances, or evidence from style, which speak much in favour of such an opinion, it must be abandoned as improbable, and altogether unsupported.

§ 37. *Was Clement of Rome the author?*

Origen is the first, who mentions Clement as the possible writer of the epistle to the Hebrews. In what sense he does this, has been already considered. Jerome and Philastrius, long afterwards, mention that some in the Latin churches attributed the epistle to the Hebrews to Clement of Rome. The evidence of this from testimony, then, is not entitled to any degree of credit, sufficient to create serious doubts whether Clement may not have been the author.

The internal evidence, drawn from a comparison of the epistle to the Hebrews with Clement's first epistle to the Corinthians, by no means favours the supposition in ques-

tion. Clement has often cited the epistle to the Hebrews. But this seems to me abundant proof, that he did not write that epistle himself; for as we have already seen, he appeals to it as Scripture, in order to establish and confirm sentiments which he is inculcating, and in the same manner as he does elsewhere to the other Scriptures. Is this to be supposed, in case he himself wrote that epistle? Did Clement attribute Scriptural authority to his own epistle? Or did the church, whom he addressed, attribute Scriptural authority to any epistles, but to those of an apostle? Does he any where in his letter appeal to other epistles than such? The obvious answer to these inquiries determines the question, whether Clement wrote the epistle to the Hebrews, in the negative.

But further. The difficulty of style is so great, between the epistle of Clement and that to the Hebrews, as to make it sufficiently evident, that both did not proceed from the same pen. I refer not merely to the choice of words, (although this might be easily shown to be considerable,) but to the general spirit and manner of the execution. There is an energy, originality, vividness of conception, and intensity of feeling, displayed every where in the epistle to the Hebrews, which is wholly wanting in Clement's epistle. It is plain, kind, faithful; but it is moderate, comparatively tame, made up of many extracts from the Old Testament and from Paul, and of imitations, as close as might be, of the latter. But what a wide difference there is, after all, between the original writer and the imitator, every one must feel who reads both. The one is a feeble rivulet, gliding gently along, which, but for the occasional contributions it receives from other streams, would become absorbed by the earth over which it passes, and cease to flow; the other a mighty stream, overflowing all

its banks, supplying with water and fertilizing all the country through which it passes. It really seems to me, that a man might as well mistake a canal on the banks of the Nile for the noble river itself, as mistake Clement for the author of the epistle to the Hebrews.

§ 38. *Was Apollos the author?*

A supposition never made by any of the ancient churches, and first ventured upon, I believe, by Luther, Com. in Gen. xlviii. 20. Postill. Ecc. Test. S. Johann. Evang. p. 44. But this opinion has since been applauded or defended by Le Clerc, Heumann, Müller, Ziegler, and Bertholdt, p. 2974.

The difficulties attending the supposition are, (1) We have no *external evidence* in favour of it; no voice of antiquity being raised to testify, that Apollos has left one single line of any written composition behind him, much less such an epistle as that to the Hebrews. (2) We have no *internal evidence* of such a fact; for there is no testimony of this nature in the epistle itself; and there can be no evidence drawn from the style of it compared with the style and diction of Apollos, inasmuch as we have no writing of Apollos, with which the comparison can be made. It follows, therefore, that those who believe Apollos to be the author, must believe so without any evidence external or internal. It is not worth our time to refute such a belief.

§ 39. *In what language was the Epistle originally written?*

On this question, there has been a difference of opinion among critics, both in ancient and modern times. Clement of Alexandria says that "Paul wrote to the Hebrews in the Hebrew language, and that Luke carefully translated it into Greek," Euseb. Hist. Ecc. vi. 14. Eusebius in the same manner says, that 'Paul wrote to the Hebrews in his vernacular language, and that, according to report, either Luke or Clement translated it,' Euseb. iii. 28. So Jerome also; "Scripserat ut Hebræus Hebræis Hebraice," (Catal. Vir. Illust. voc. Paulus); and then he adds, that 'this epistle was translated into Greek, so that the colouring of the style was made diverse, in this way, from that of Paul's.' Of the same opinion, in respect to this, was Clement of Alexandria; and Origen, as we have seen above, supposes that the *thoughts* contained in the epistle were Paul's, while the *diction* or *costume* of it must be attributed to the person who wrote down the sentiments of the apostle.

By the *Hebrew language*, no one can reasonably doubt, these fathers meant the *Jerusalem dialect*, which was spoken in the days of the apostles, and not the ancient Hebrew, which had long ceased to be a vernacular language.

It is quite plain also, that these fathers were led to the conclusion, that the epistle to the Hebrews was originally written in the dialect of Palestine, from their belief, (so universal in ancient times,) of its having been addressed to some church, or to the churches, in that country. It was very natural to draw such a conclusion; for would not an epistle addressed to Hebrews in all probability be more acceptable, if written in their own vernacular language?

Moreover, Paul was well acquainted with that language, for he was brought up at Jerusalem, and "at the feet of Gamaliel;" and when he had visited there, he had addressed the Jewish multitude, who were excited against him, in their native tongue, Acts xxii. 1, 2. Why should it not be supposed, that if, as is probable, our epistle was originally directed to Palestine, it was written in the dialect of that country?

So the fathers above quoted evidently thought and reasoned; although other fathers have said nothing on this point, and do not appear to have coincided in opinion with those to which I have just referred. Among the moderns, also, several critics have undertaken to defend the same opinion; and particularly Michaelis, who has discussed the subject quite at length, in his introduction to this epistle.

I do not think it necessary minutely to examine his arguments. To my own mind they appear altogether unsatisfactory. Some of them are built on an exegesis most palpably erroneous, and which, if admitted, would deduce a very strange meaning from the words of the epistle. Yet, assuming such a meaning, he thence concludes, that the *original* writer must have expressed a different idea, and that the *translator* mistook his meaning. He then undertakes to conjecture, what the original Hebrew must have been. In other cases, he deduces his arguments from considerations wholly *a priori*; as if these were admissible, in a question of mere *fact*. He has not adduced a single instance of what he calls *wrong translation*, which wears the appearance of any considerable probability.

On the other hand, Bolten, a sharp-sighted critic, and

well acquainted with the Aramean language, (who has gone through with the New Testament, and found almost everywhere marks, as he thinks, of translation from Aramean documents,) confesses, that in respect to this epistle, he finds not a single vestige of incorrect translation from an Aramean original, and *no marks that there ever was such an original*. This testimony is of considerable importance in respect to the question before us ; as it comes from a critic, who spent many years on the study of that which is most intimately connected with the very subject under consideration, viz. the detection of the Aramean originals of the various parts of the New Testament. Berth. p. 2976.

The principal *arguments* in favour of a Hebrew original, are deduced from two sources. First, that *Hebrews* are addressed in our epistle ; to whom the Hebrew language would have been more acceptable and intelligible, and many of whom, indeed, could not understand Greek, certainly could not read it. Secondly, that the diversity of style in the epistle to the Hebrews is so great, when compared with that of Paul's epistles, that, unless we suppose the Greek costume did in fact come from another hand, we must be led to the conclusion, that Paul did not write it.

Both of these topics have been already discussed above. I merely add here, therefore, that in case the writer of the epistle designed it should have a wide circulation among the Jews, to write in Greek was altogether the most feasible method of accomplishing this. Besides, if Paul did address it to the church at Cesarea, it is altogether probable that he wrote in Greek, as Greek was the principal language of that city. Even if he did not, it was not necessary that he should write in Hebrew ; for in every considerable place in Palestine, there were more or less who understood the

Greek language. Whoever wishes to see this last position established beyond any reasonable doubt, may read Hug's Introduction to the N. Test. Vol. II. pp. 32—50.

When Paul wrote to the *Romans*, he did not write in *Latin*; yet there was no difficulty in making his epistle understood, for the knowledge of Greek was very common at Rome. If Paul understood the Latin language, (which is no where affirmed, and he had not resided, when he wrote our epistle, in any of the countries where it was commonly used,) still he understood Greek so much better, that he would of course prefer writing in it.

For a similar reason, if no other could be given, one may regard it as more probable, that he would write the epistle to the Hebrews in the Greek language. At the time of writing it, he had been abroad twenty-five years at least, in Greek countries, and had been in Palestine, during all that period, only a few days. The Jews abroad, whom he every where saw, spoke *Greek*, not Hebrew. In Greek he preached and conversed. Is it any wonder, then, that after twenty-five years incessant labour of preaching, conversing, and writing in this language, he should have preferred writing in it? Indeed can it be probable, that, under circumstances like these, he still possessed an equal facility of writing in his native dialect of Palestine?

I cannot think it strange, therefore, that although the epistle to the Hebrews was in all probability directed to some part of Palestine, yet it was written by Paul in Greek, and not in Hebrew. But, whatever may be the estimation put upon arguments of this nature, there are *internal marks* of its having been originally composed in Greek, which cannot well be overlooked. Let us examine them.

Some of the arguments, produced by those who maintain that the original language of our epistle was Greek, it must be acknowledged, do not seem to be well founded. To such belongs the following.

‘Instances of paronomasia occur in this epistle ; which necessarily implies, that it was originally composed in its present language.’

For example ; Heb. v. 8, ἤμαθεν ἀφ’ ὧν ἔπαθε. v. 14, πρὸς διάκρισιν καλοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ. vii. 3, ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ. ix. 10, ἐπὶ βρώμασι καὶ πόμασι. xi. 37, ἐπίσθησαν, ἐπειράσθησαν. xiii. 14, οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν ὧδε μένουσαν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐπιζητοῦμεν. vii. 22, κρείττονος διαθήκης γέγονεν ἔγγυος Ἰησοῦς, comp. v. 19, ἐγγίζομεν τῷ Θεῷ. x. 34, τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὑμῶν μετὰ χαρᾶς προσεδέξασθε, γινώσκοντες ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς κρείττονα ὑπαρξιν ἐν οὐρανοῖς. See Eich. § 270. Bertholdt, p. 2987, who has only repeated the same things which Eichhorn had before said.

Of these instances, that only from x. 34 seems to betray any real marks of *design* ; and even here, the marks are by no means of a decisive nature. Every one, who will examine any Greek writing whatever, may find in it more or less of apparent paronomasia in the same way, without any difficulty ; and this, where the author had no intention of exhibiting it. Whether an author really *designed* to exhibit paronomasia, or not, will in general be very apparent. I cannot perceive, that any one of the alleged paronomasias in question, really appears to be the effect of design. If they are altogether accidental, they may have occurred in the epistle to the Hebrews, even if its present language is merely that of a *translation*. In fact, even designed paronomasias may, not unfrequently, occur in a translation. The argument in favour of the Greek being

the original language of the epistle to the Hebrews, built on such instances of paronomasia as the above, (where, in most cases, it is a mere homophony of like tenses or cases,) is too uncertain and too slender to be rested on, as a proper support of the opinion in question.

But there are better arguments than such, to prove that the epistle to the Hebrews was originally written in Greek. They may be derived, from the manner in which the quotations from the Old Testament are made and employed, in our epistle.

(1.) The author has, throughout, quoted the Sept. version, and followed it in nearly all cases, even where it differs considerably from the Hebrew. This, indeed, might be done to a certain extent, by a translator. For example; if Paul had appealed to the Hebrew Scriptures, and cited passages from them, the translator might have taken the corresponding passages in his Greek Bible. It might easily be supposed, that it would have been very natural for him to do so, in all cases where there was no considerable difference between the original Hebrew and the Greek version. But,

(2.) The writer of the epistle to the Hebrews has cited and employed the Sept. version, in order to illustrate his positions, in cases where the Septuagint does not correspond with the original Hebrew. For example; Heb. i. 6, *Let all the angels of God worship him*, is quoted, in order to show that the Son of God is superior to the angels. If this be quoted, (as is more generally supposed,) from Ps. xcvii. 7, the context there appears to show, that the subject is, *the superiority of Jehovah to idol-gods*, not of Christ to the angels. Instead of "Let all the angels of God worship him," the Hebrew runs thus, "Worship him

all ye gods;" and so our English translation has it. If the quotation be made from Deut. xxxii. 43, (as some have supposed,) then is the argument still stronger; for in the original Hebrew there is not a vestige of the passage quoted; it is found only in the Septuagint. In either case, the force of the appeal seems to rest on the Sept. version, and not on the original Hebrew. Of course, the writer must be supposed to have used that version, in his original composition, by all those who hold that he appeals, in this case, to a passage of the Old Testament.

But, as I have some doubts whether such an appeal is here made by the apostle, of course I cannot attribute much weight to this argument. See Comm. on Heb. i. 6.

(3.) The writer appeals, in Chap. II., to Ps. VIII., in order to prove that the Son of God must possess a human nature, which should be exalted above that of angels, and placed at the head of the creation. But the phrase in Hebrew, *Thou hast made him a little below the Elohim*, is rendered by the Septuagint, *Thou hast made him for a little time*, [or, *a little*] *lower than the angels*; rendering אֱלֹהִים *angels*, which, to say the least, is an unusual sense of the word. Yet, on the sense of the version in the Septuagint, turns the force of this proof, that Christ was, in his human nature, superior to the angels.

(4.) In chap. VII., the writer has translated the appellations, *Melchisedek, king of Salem*, and told at length what they mean in Greek. It is possible, that such a thing might be done by a translator; but then the explanation, in this case, appears plainly to be interwoven with the discourse itself, and to be *a prima manu*.

(5.) In chap. ix. 16, 17, Christ is said, in reference to

the *old* covenant under Moses, to be the mediator of a *new* and *better* covenant, בְּרִית, in Greek διαθήκη. But, from the double meaning of διαθήκη in Greek, viz. *covenant* and *testament*, the writer takes occasion, having mentioned the death of Jesus, to observe, that the new διαθήκη has received its full confirmation, viz. as a *testament*, by the death of the testator; and that he may the more effectually remove all offence at the death of Jesus, he goes on to say, that a διαθήκη, i. e. *testament*, (for now he uses the word in this sense,) *has no force while the testator is living*. Of course, the death of Jesus was necessary to ratify the *new* διαθήκη; and it did in fact ratify and establish it, to all intents and purposes.

Now the whole of this reasoning depends on the two-fold sense of the word διαθήκη, in Greek; for the original word בְּרִית, in Hebrew, never has the sense of *testament* or *will*.

The Greek word διαθήκη has, indeed, been adopted into the Rabbinic Hebrew, and sounds בְּרִיתִיק. But that it belonged to the Hebrew language, in Paul's day, there is no certain proof; and even if there were, בְּרִית must have been the only word to which he referred, for בְּרִית is an appropriate word to designate the Abrahamic and Mosaic dispensations, or the old covenant. Of course, the writer's illustration depends on the two-fold meaning of the *Greek* word διαθήκη; consequently, his language must have been Greek.

(6.) In chap. x. 3 seq. the writer undertakes to show, that the sacrifice of Christ was not only necessary, in order to make expiation for sin, but that it was predicted in the Psalms, that he should make such an offering. In proof of this, he quotes the Septuagint version, *A body hast thou prepared for me*, x. 54, viz. a body for an offering or

expiatory sacrifice. Compare now Ps. xi. 7, where the Hebrew runs thus, *אָזְנִים פָּרַיִת לִי*, *mine ears hast thou opened or bored*, i. e. thou hast made me obedient. But it is the Septuagint version which appears to give direct occasion for the specific allegation of the writer, viz. that Christ had made an offering of himself as a propitiatory sacrifice.

Other instances of a similar nature have been produced by critics, from our epistle; but as they are less striking, and may admit of some doubt, I have thought best to exclude them. These are sufficient to show, that as the very nature of the proof or argument, which the writer brings forward, depends, in some respects, on the form of the Septuagint version, or to say the least, the *form* of the proof depends on this, so he must have written in Greek, and appealed to the Greek version; for it is improbable to the last degree, that if the epistle had been written in Hebrew, he would have appealed to any but the original Hebrew Scriptures, when addressing those who were acquainted with them.

Whatever difficulties the theologian or the interpreter may find, in reconciling these facts with the method of arguing which he may suppose appropriate to an inspired writer, it cannot alter the *facts themselves*. These are palpable, and not matters of conjecture. And admitting this, we are compelled to draw the conclusion, that THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF OUR EPISTLE MUST HAVE BEEN GREEK.

I would add merely, that the vivid colouring and animation of the whole epistle, the impassioned and energetic expression of it, and its native, unconstrained appearance, all contribute to prove, that it was originally written in the same language in which it now appears.

§ 40. *Critical and exegetical helps to the study of the Epistle.*

It is not my object to make out a copious catalogue of these; but only to notice those which are more particularly deserving of attention.

Ancient Greek Commentators.

Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Theophylact, the Greek commentators on this epistle, are all deserving of an attentive perusal, in various respects. Philological, in the technical sense of this word, the reader must not expect to find them. Chrysostom is the most copious, flowing, and oratorical; Theodoret, the most brief and comprehensive; but Theophylact is by far the most agreeable, especially for beginners in the study of Greek commentary. He comprises all that is valuable in Chrysostom, and, for the most part, nearly in Chrysostom's words; while at the same time he has given to the whole, more ease, simplicity, and compactness. Seldom does he venture upon any new opinion of his own; and when he does, it is with great deference to his predecessors. The book deserves a republication at the present day, as a part of the apparatus requisite to the study of our epistle; and as one of the easiest and best means of introducing the young interpreter to an acquaintance with the Greek Commentators.

If a glossary should be added to such a book, containing the few words in Theophylact that are not found in our common Greek lexicons, and also the very good Latin translation which now accompanies the Greek of Theophylact, it would constitute an excellent book, for commencing the study and the knowledge of the original Greek fathers.

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Such an apparatus is already prepared, and the book only waits for patronage, in order to be published.

English Commentators.

Owen, Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews, with preliminary Exercitations, 7 vols. 8vo. Edinb. 1812-14.—This work is replete with remarks of a doctrinal and experimental nature. The philology of it will be less valued, at the present day.

J. Pierce, Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of Paul, 4to. Lond. 1733.—Some of the sentiments differ widely from those of Owen, and are such as ought to be examined with great caution; but the work, as a whole, exceeds any English commentary which I have read. The author has a great deal of acuteness, and is by no means wanting in regard to a tact for criticism.

The works of Sykes, Whitby, Doddridge, Macknight, Scott, Clark, and others, on this epistle, may profit some classes of readers, but they are not adapted to the higher purposes of philology.

Commentaries in Latin and German.

Among the older commentators, Erasmus, Grotius, Le Clerc, Drusius, J. Cappell, Limborch, and Wolfius, have distinguished themselves. The more recent works are the following.

J. B. Carpzovius, Exercitt. in Pauli Epist. ad Hebræos, ex Philone Alexandrino, 8vo. Helmst. 1750.—The same author has also published, Uebersetzung des Briefs an die Hebräer, Helmst. 1795.

J. A. Cramer, Erklärung des Briefs an die Hebräer, 4to. Kopenhagen, 1757.

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C. F. Schmidius, *Observatt. super Epist. ad Hebræos*, histor. crit. et theologicæ, 8vo. Lips. 1766.

J. D. Michaelis, *Erklärung des Briefs an die Hebräer*, 4to. 2 edit. 1780.

S. F. N. Morus, *Der Brief an die Hebräer uebersetzt*, 8vo. Leipz. 1786.

G. C. Storr, *Pauli Brief an die Hebräer erläutert*. 8vo. Tübingen, 1809.

J. A. Ernesti, *Lectiones in Epist. ad Hebræos*; illustrationes adjecit *G. J. Dindorf*, 8vo. Lips. 1795;—a book of real worth, in a critical respect, although not executed with much taste as to form and manner. I have found in it more to my purpose, than in any other of the commentaries which I have consulted.

Heinrichs, in *Nov. Test. Koppiano*, Vol. VIII.—This is a work, which exhibits some striking remarks, and no inconsiderable tact for exegesis. But the occasional extravagance of this writer's opinions, and the haste with which he throws off his works, are to be regretted; as he plainly possesses ability to go deeper into his subjects of inquiry.

D. Schulz, *Der Brief an die Hebräer, Einleitung, Uebersetzung, und Anmerkungen*, 8vo. Breslau, 1818.

The latest work is by *C. F. Boehme*, *Epist. ad Heb. Latine vertit, atque commentario instruxit perpetuo*. 8vo. Lips. 1825. See above, § 31.

Literature of the Epistle.

The introductions of *Michaelis*, *Hænlein*, *Eichhorn*, *Hug*, *Bertholdt*, and *De Wette*, exhibit the sum of what has been hitherto accomplished, in regard to this subject. *Seyffarth* and *Schulz*, in the works examined above, have

also discussed the same subject; as have Ziegler, Noesselt, Weber, Lardner, and others. Wolfius, Storr, Schmidt, Cramer, and most other commentators, have touched, more or less, on the literary topics that pertain to the epistle. Lardner, Storr, Ziegler, Cramer, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Hug, and Schulz, are most conspicuous among the class of writers now under consideration.

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the 1990s, the number of people in the UK who are employed in the public sector has increased by 1.5 million, from 2.5 million in 1980 to 4 million in 1995 (Department of Health 1996).

There is a growing emphasis on the need to improve the efficiency of the public sector, and to ensure that the public sector is able to deliver the services that are required by the public. This has led to a number of initiatives, including the introduction of competition, the restructuring of public sector organisations, and the introduction of performance measures. The aim of these initiatives is to ensure that the public sector is able to deliver the services that are required by the public, in a cost-effective and efficient manner.

One of the key initiatives in the public sector is the introduction of competition. This has led to a number of public sector organisations being privatised, and to a number of public sector organisations being required to compete for contracts. This has led to a number of public sector organisations being required to improve their efficiency, and to reduce their costs.

Another key initiative is the restructuring of public sector organisations. This has led to a number of public sector organisations being merged, and to a number of public sector organisations being required to reorganise their structure. This has led to a number of public sector organisations being required to improve their efficiency, and to reduce their costs.

A third key initiative is the introduction of performance measures. This has led to a number of public sector organisations being required to measure their performance, and to report on their performance. This has led to a number of public sector organisations being required to improve their efficiency, and to reduce their costs.

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